

The Texts of Letters Exchanged between the Presidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq 1990

**Translated
by:
Maryam Daftari**

The Institute for Political and International Studies

In the Name of God

*The Texts of Letters Exchanged
between the Presidents of the
Islamic Republic of Iran and
the Republic of Iraq
1369 (1990)*

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*The Institute for Political and International Studies
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***The Texts of Letters Exchanged between the Presidents of the
Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq 1369 (1990)***

Institute for Political and International Studies

Affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran

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CONTENTS

Preface	i
Introduction	ii
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 26 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [2 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 21 April 1990]	1
Text of Letter of the Head of the Government of Palestine and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization Dated 27 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [3 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 22 April 1990]	6
Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dated 6 Shaval 1410 H.Q. [12 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 2 May 1990] to the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 26 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [2 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 21 April 1990]	10
Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dated 28 Shaval 1410 H.Q. [3 Khordad 1369 H.S., 24 May 1990] to the Letter Dated 27 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [3 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 22 April 1990] of the Head of the Palestinian Government and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO	15
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24 Shaval 1410 H.Q. [29 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 19 May 1990]	17

Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dated 24 Zighadat-ol-Haram 1410 H.Q. [28 Khor-dad 1369 H.S., 18 June 1990] to the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24 Shaval 1410 H.Q.[29 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 19 May 1990]	27
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24 Zihaje 1410 H.Q.[25 Tir 1369 H.S., 16 July 1990]	34
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 8 Mohar-ram 1411 H.Q. [8 Mordad 1369 H.S., 30 July 1990]	36
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 12 Mohar-ram 1411 H.Q. [12 Mordad 1369 H.S., 3 August 1990]	45
Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dated 16 Moharram 1411 H.Q.[17 Mordad 1369 H.S., 7 August 1990] to the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 12 Moharram 1411 H.Q. [12 Mordad 1369 H.S., 3 August 1990]	51
Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 23 Mohar-ram 1411 H.Q. [23 Mordad 1369 H.S., 14 August 1990]	58
Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran Dated 27 Moharram 1411 H.Q. [27 Mordad 1369 H.S., 18 August 1990] to the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 23 Moharram 1411 H.Q.[23 Mordad 1369 H.S., 14 August 1990]	62
Copies of the Original Letters	64

PREFACE

Since the Persian publication of the texts of letters exchanged between the Presidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq in 1370 (1991), we have been besieged by innumerable requests to translate these historical documents into English in order that not only specialists such as historians and political scientists, but all those interested in Middle East and Persian Gulf affairs, specifically those studying Iran-Iraq relations, can study and analyze these letters exchanged at a very critical period in the region's history (21 April 1990 - 18 August 1990). As we recall, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait occurred on August 2, 1990.

Accordingly, we requested Ms. Maryam Daftari, senior research fellow at the Institute for Political and International Studies and Managing Editor of *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs* to undertake this task of translation for which we hereby thank her. An explanation concerning the dates employed is in order: H.Q. stands for Hejira (or the beginning of the Muslim era) computed according to the lunar calendar. H.S. stands for Hejira computed according to the solar calendar.

It is our hope that the translation of these historic letters will assist historians and researchers to analyze and understand the events of this period.

Abbas Maleki
Deputy Foreign Minister
for Education and Research

INTRODUCTION

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, our country has passed through many problems and confronted [many] realities which we shall briefly review. After the victory of the Revolution, our enemies worldwide, who were and are opposed to Islam and the Revolution, and consider these detrimental to themselves, began to plan for the destruction or weakening of the Revolution. During a certain time period, all their efforts to change the substance of the Revolution, [such as] attempting coup d'etats, rebellions, intrigues, and various conspiracies, failed. During this very period, they were also preparing for a formal military attack. They saw the possibility that the various aforementioned conspiracies might not succeed, and for this reason they began to plan for a military attack. Documents are available in which our enemies have spoken of an undertaking which, in their opinion, Iran could not withstand against, and that was Iraq's armed attack against Iran. It seems that this scenario had been planned as a possible occurrence even before the Revolution.

We know how Iraq's attack against Iran started. The Iraqis, by making certain excuses, prepared for an attack. For two or three months, they set up various border confrontations so that by obscuring the matter, they could portray Iran as guilty of initiating the war. Fortunately, at this stage also, they did not meet with any success and finally, in due time, they commenced their armed attack which was supported by almost all the satans of the world.

In this attack, the hands of the arrogant of East and West, regional reactionaries, and Zionism were at work; however, Iraq's Ba'athist regime was at the head of the attack. With its silence vis-a-vis the attack, the international community, too, acted improperly. The actions taken by the international community regarding Iraq's aggression against Kuwait were applicable at that time also: these were convening a meeting of the Security Council, issuing a resolution condemning the aggressor, calling for its unconditional withdrawal, and blockading and employing economic sanctions, etc. However, none of these actions were undertaken and even in the various discussions, bad things were continually said against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Although in their first military strikes the Iraqis were able to take big steps, they were not able to achieve their objectives. They were neither able to occupy Abadan and Ahvaz nor were they capable of blocking the Ahvaz-Dezful road or cutting the links between Khuzestan Province and the capital (Tehran). At the beginning of the attack they were not even

able to occupy Khoramshahr--which was one of their primary goals. In the western region, too, the situation was similar. The [main] factor in this situation is also clear: first, the people's resistance. All will recall that for 24 days the people in Khoramshahr held the large Iraqi army at the gates of the city, and this was a great feat -- while in its attack against Kuwait, the Iraqi tanks were able to move in about two hours from Ramila to the Emir of Kuwait's palace. However, after the occupation of Khoramshahr, at the gates of Abadan, the Iraqis were grounded and were unable to untie this knot.

During those days, the Islamic Republic of Iran's army had no military preparedness. The army had been purged, and high-ranking officers and foreign advisers had left. At that time, there was no unity in the army and it was not anticipated that it could perform any action of importance; and it was due to this very point that Ba'athist Iraq selected the time for its aggression. The amount of resistance at the borders was effective enough to delay the enemy's movements. Afterwards, during that time period, the army's air force acted extremely well, and it was truly this force which inflicted the first blow, and at times in order to obstruct the advance of the enemy, took over the functions of the army's ground forces. With more than 150 flights daily inside Iraq, the air force inflicted severe economic and technological damages behind the enemy lines bringing great destruction.

Iraq's oil industry stopped functioning completely, and on the front, the advance of the Iraqi forces was checked.

The assistance of the peoples' voluntary forces was effective and thereafter, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps entered the battlefield. At that time the [Revolutionary] Guard Corps was not a military force, acting more like a disciplinary and security force within the country. During this period, with the presence of the mobilization and peoples' forces, by arresting the enemy's movements and stabilizing the front and defense lines, Iran's forces behind the front prepared themselves for a subsequent attack.

After leaving behind this phase of the war, the attack of the forces of Islam began. His Eminence Imam Khomeini (Peace Be Upon Him), by issuing the order for breaking the siege of Abadan, expanded the operations and by launching operation Darkhoein, Samololaeme, Fatolmobeen, Bostan, and Beytolmoghadas in succession and without giving the enemy any respite to strengthen its forces -- with the re-capture of Khoramshahr which was the climax of Iran's victories -- Iraq was forced to flee from Iran.

Iraq took refuge behind its lines and fortifications and by creating large lakes, minefields and several layers of wire fences, took a defensive position while Iran's forces maintained their offensive stance (for the Iraqis were still inside a large area of Iran's territory). Consequently, a series of operations, namely, the Valfajrs, Karbellas, Faths and Nasrs

were launched, and often during the last several years, Islam's warriors were victorious.

During this period, the disunity and malevolence of the enemy become apparent. The Zionists, the Americans, the British, the French, the Russians, and the Arab reactionaries [all] spoke of peace and at the same time assisted Iraq. At the stage where the Iranian forces put pressure on the Iraqis behind their own fortifications, they helped Iraq in every way and performed every possible act of wickedness against Iran -- which there is no necessity to repeat or to remind; and we know that by the connivance of international centers, many international regulations were violated and horrible war crimes were committed by the enemies of Islam: attacking passenger aircrafts and residential areas, and the use of chemical weapons on a large scale are examples of these.

After the great conquest of the forces of Islam in Halabche and our presence deep within enemy territory in the north of Iraq, three new factors entered the stage:

- 1- [The Iraqi regime's] sanction to slaughter the Iraqi people;
- 2- the "scourged earth" policy;
- 3- the presence of foreign forces in the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman.

It became clear that the Iraqis intended -- even through the destruction of their own nation and the massacre of the people of Iraq -- to ask for mercy from Iran so that she would not advance too much within Iraqi territory; and the

Ba'athist crimes in Halabche were a clear example of that. Because they knew that Islamic Iran wanted the continuation of combat for the sake of liberating the people of Iraq, with this deception they wanted to block our path towards our goal. You witnessed what the Iraqis did to Halabche. In Kurdistan they committed massacres with chemical weapons. At that time, Islam's forces were present in the region and in their penetration operations they advanced as far as Mosul and were a witness to these hardships. The "scorched earth" policy became an obstacle for Iran's forces. The continuation of the war was for the sake of liberating the people of Iraq, and Iran did not want such calamities to be visited upon them. This situation revealed that even if Iran's forces would march to Baghdad, this very situation would arise and there would be no people left to liberate.

Parallel to this policy, the buildup of the forces of arrogance in the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman took place and these forces formally went to war against Iran and exploded our oil platforms. A permanent peace has always been our principal objective, and at this juncture, for the attainment of peace, the path of Resolution 598 was chosen. Fortunately, during those very days, it became clear that this adoption [of Resolution 598] was not due to weakness, for immediately after Iraq's refusal to accept a ceasefire and [their] advance within Iran's territory, with the issue of the mobilization decree, great numbers of people went to the fronts. The rush of the people's forces in order to participate

in the [war] front was such that in the last month of the war we witnessed the most extensive presence of the forces and [their] capabilities that we had seen all through the years of our defense. But due to the correct decision of the Imam (Peace Be Upon Him) and the implemented planned action for not continuing the war, permission was not granted to the forces to attack, and our forces, in reality, by suppressing their anger, returned from the fronts. From the bases, great pressure arose for granting permission to conduct operations and to sweep away the victories the Iraqis had achieved; however, the Imam did not consent and did not give his approval and thus permission was given for defense only.

Consequently, the negotiation phase for the implementation of Resolution 598 began. All are aware that we did not reject this Resolution while we were at the height of our advance into Iraq's territory, for in fact, we had approved it and had announced our acceptance of it. Our interests and also what was right and just had more or less been included in this Resolution, as it had been drawn up during our advance and the Ba'athist's defeat.

During this period, much time was lost for the two countries, but the truths were revealed. It became evident to many that Iraq's Ba'athists did not want a true peace and were not prepared for the implementation of Resolution 598; that the "peace-seeking" slogans of the war years were the result of the conditions existing at the fronts and due to their weakness and helplessness. Also it became clear that

the situation of the arrogant -- supporters of Iraq and Arab reactionaries -- were and are similar to Iraq's, and unfortunately, it became evident that the United Nations and the Security Council also did not favor the implementation of the Resolution under the special ceasefire conditions; and during this phase, oppressed Iran, similar to the war period, alone and forsaken in the negotiations arena in order to secure her rights, continued her efforts and with vigilance and perseverance, deprived the enemy of extorting concessions and did not permit the colonialists to take advantage of the no war no peace situation.

Next to this unpleasant and revealing situation, the inner contradictions within the enemy front of the Islamic Revolution, Iraq's economic difficulties and the intolerable requests she had exacted from her wealthy supporters during the war, created a new set of conditions which we are a witness to its effects today.

Without doubt, the promises of divine assistance for patient, persevering and *jihad*-loving people who have given up everything for the sake of fulfilling their God-given-human responsibilities, and have set as their highest aspirations God's approval, are the principal factors in these new conditions, the enjoyment of which is yet another arena for divine testing that as in the past, we hope to have the privilege of satisfactorily passing.

Signs of change in policy on the part of the opposite party were received, and information, indications and calculations

showed us the correct path of action. On 5/2/69, we were informed that confidential letters from the President of Iraq and Mr. Yasser Arafat were received by the Eminent Leader and our country's President. The person who carried the letter was from the Palestinian Liberation Front and this was initially confronted with disbelief in regard to the claim, since the situation between us and Iraq was not such that could be explained on the basis of the diplomatic norms of sending an emissary and a letter.

The initial investigations concerning the content and signature on the letter, the seal and the emblem, and given that the carrier of the letter was known to us, and the accompanying letter from Arafat gave us relative assurance in regard to the validity of the claim.

For the study of the content of the letter and preparation of a response and a proper approach to the subject, a meeting was held on 8/2/69 in the presence of the Eminent Leader and with the participation of the members of the Supreme National Security Council and the political advisors to the Leader and myself.

Although in the past, Mr. Saddam Hussein had made several attempts to send messages through Iraqi representatives in Germany, Switzerland and other places and had proposed direct and face-to-face negotiations between the leaders of the two countries, and for this purpose we had gone as far as preparatory talks between the official representatives, and [hence], the initiative was not without prece-

dent, however, the particulars of the content of the letter were sufficient enough for us to take the issue seriously, which we did. With comprehensive consultations and care, a response was prepared and through our representative in Geneva, was delivered to the Iraqi representative there, and the exchange of letters in the manner reflected in the text of [this] book continued, and what attracted our attention was Iraq's haste which for us did not have any rational justifications. Although in the analyses and considerations of the motives of the opposite party in the presentation of this initiative and the unusual haste for its pursuit, along with many other probabilities, the probability of problems with its Arab neighbors and especially with the oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf was at issue, other probabilities such as problems with the industrial countries which extended credit to Iraq, particularly the U.S. and France, or domestic economic and social problems emanating from the length of a futile war that Iraq had initiated, and the length of the period of captivity for tens of thousands of Iraqi prisoners who were mostly captured during the first years of the war, and the exorbitant expenditure for the maintenance of such a large force during the period of no war and no peace and ... attracted our attention as factors of this move, and we gave the least importance to the probability of the outbreak of war with yesterday's and former supporters of Iraq.

*

It is appropriate that in this short introduction the following points be taken into consideration:

1- Today, irrefutable documents are available from history which show that this war broke out due to the desire of the arrogant, reactionaries, and Zionism to defeat or at least weaken the Islamic Revolution of Iran and to give the Ba'athists of Iraq, at the minimum, the hope of occupying Kuzistan, dismembering Iran, and attaining a hegemonic and gendarme position in the Persian Gulf.

2- For this evil objective, all possible means were employed: unsparing and generous financial, armament, intelligence, propaganda, and political assistance, paying no attention to war crimes and violations of international norms, and ultimately a formal and overt intervention of the superpower, the United States, at Iraq's side and against Iran in the war.

3- Islamic Iran was alone in its defense against the global infidel front and the small and the big satans, and received help from no one but the Merciful God; and it is interesting that except for a few weeks at the beginning and at the end of the war, all through the eight-year period of defense, Islamic and Iranian forces were engaged in an offensive position and Iraq's Ba'athist army was under pressure and near defeat, and the situation during these extraordinary weeks had their own special characteristics which have been

mentioned; and this great and remarkable victory can be a lesson unto other nations, especially Islamic nations in sketching their path in life, on condition that they shall not betray history when recording the truth and shall provide the facts to seekers of truth.

4- The facts that had been concealed by the heavy propaganda offensive of the world's arrogant and had diverted a section of public opinion and the danger of distorting history also existed, were ultimately revealed; and today, the people all around the world from whom the many facts had been concealed are gradually becoming aware of them, and the righteousness of Islam, the Quran, and Iran's Islamic Revolution and the oppression they suffered are being revealed. God knows how many billions of words and millions of lines and pages have been published during the past few weeks all over the world in which the truth has been admitted: and that from the tongues of those who in their entire lives were never prepared to utter a single word in favor of the truth, God, Islam, or us.

They now acknowledge that Iran was (in the) right. Today, in the American Congress Mr. Bush is being cross-examined about why he gave so much support to Saddam Hussein all through the war with Iran, and our southern neighbors are sorry because of their considerable financial, etc. assistance to Iraq; and the records of companies and other centers of imperialism are being continuously exposed [showing] that contrary to international regulations -- with the aim of

weakening Iran's Islamic Revolution -- they assisted Iraq in illegitimate ways, including chemical warfare capabilities, etc. The truths that are being considered worldwide will be recorded in history, and the friends of righteousness will one day collect them and they shall, as authentic sources, be studied in libraries and research centers throughout the globe so that the people of the world will know what this oppressed nation has suffered at the hands of the oppressors of history and what bravery it demonstrated.

5- The people of Iran have become more sure of the rightness of their path and this too is important from the national [perspective]. If our people, after ten years of fighting, would have come to this conclusion that they were wrong, this would have been a devastating blow to their historical personality and to the cultural underpinnings of the nation and the revolution. Today our nation, by looking to the past will recognize that all the actions and policies were undertaken with objectives and planning. Defense, retaliation, acceptance of Resolution 598, perseverance in negotiations, correspondence and all actions undertaken by us were based on calculation and deliberation. This nation has self-confidence and the enemys' efforts to poison the minds of our people will not be effective. Our nation, by viewing the entire traversed path will recognize that the actions were correct and that the Imam of the *umma* under appropriate circumstances made the right decisions and showed the nation

the correct path to be taken, and thus today, the people do not perceive any weakness in their past actions.

6- The quality of our fighting was in itself another great victory. At the war's end, our military capabilities and the forces with which we were fighting survived, for they did not belong to or were not dependent on others. The Islamic Republic of Iran's army had been able to preserve its capabilities, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps fought with initiative, and the Mobilization [Force] -- that great infinite force, that endless ocean of human beings who in times of need went to the front, and when not needed worked in factories, universities, schools, etc. -- remained prepared. The experience of the sacred defense was a great experience for us. It was indeed a successful experience which was unique in the whole world. Having had this [grand experience] and such a resistant and fighting force, nobody for a long time, will even think of committing aggression against this land.

7- We will name some of the factors responsible for the successes: - first, the unprecedented and miraculous management of His Eminence the Imam, to whom we owe a great deal in this revolution.

- And today it is under the very wise and extraordinary direction of our great Leader who in the best possible manner conducts the affairs of state;

- the self-sacrifice, devotion and the desire for martyrdom of the fighting forces of Iran who endured the difficult period of defense;
- the unwavering support of the nation wherein the country's leaders and the combatants at no time felt alone, and the responsible authorities always considered themselves under the protection of the Leader and the nation;
- the patience and the forbearance of the martyrs' families, prisoners of war, missing in action, and the endurance of the disabled who constitute a large portion of our *jihad* culture;
- the endurance of our released [prisoners of war] who are our dear guests today, and in the enemy camps and under the most difficult and intolerable conditions, with their perseverance and patience, incapacitated the enemy and recorded great honors in Iran's (pages of) history.

8- By relying on the experience of eight years of the sacred defense and twelve years of conflict with the arrogant *Ah-rimans*, today Islamic Iran has an outstanding and self-reliant defense force which can become a reliable axis for regional peace and stability; and the small and big satans will never think of aggression against Iran.

9- Today our nation feels victory, stability, and tranquility with all its existence while behind the scenes our enemies and the wicked conspirators and the powerful demons all feel troubled and insecure, and are attacking each other today. Of course, we are not satisfied with this situation and

we do not want any country to be the target of aggression and for anyone to feel insecure. Our desire is for the security and tranquility of the world community. However, evil deeds and sins will ultimately catch up with the guilty. God's judgement both in this world and the hereafter is precise, and not an iota of anyone's deeds shall go unnoticed before God's justice. Those who have oppressed us are now entangled in the consequences of their oppression. They threaten each other, take each other hostage, and create such tension in the region that the ensuing negative results will affect others as well.

10- At this juncture, we shall again fulfill our Islamic role, without being affected by their oppression and vindictiveness towards us. We are not in pursuit of revenge, annihilating the enemy or even rebuking them. We condemned Iraq's aggression against Kuwait before others did -- the Kuwait who assisted our enemy financially all through the war with billions of dollars.

11- Now the Islamic Republic of Iran accepts nothing other than the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. At the same time, we are worried about the large presence of the military forces of the wicked powers whom we cannot trust. These forces which entered the region with expansionist objectives and have nested next to the House of God, we can infer from their words that they have long-term goals. The Islamic Republic of Iran is opposed both to the aggression and to the military buildup and will try to prevent the destruction of the

region from a (re)kindling of the fire of a disastrous war. Iraq must stop its aggression and the Americans and their followers must also return to their own countries, leaving the region to its inhabitants. The Islamic Republic of Iran is also prepared to extend assistance to its neighboring countries so that we can all live together in peace and tranquility.

This book is a collection of the letters of the President of Iraq and the responses of the Islamic Republic of Iran to them which is to be published in its entirety for public information and recorded in the history of our country, and for the study and awareness of future generations.

In producing this book the Supreme National Security Council, the Honorable Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Headquarters of Resolution 598 and the Institute for Political and International Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were involved to whom we extend our thanks.

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 26
Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [2 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S.,
21 April 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Ali Khamenei:

His Excellency Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani:

Assalam Aleikom

On different occasions in the past, all through the war, I addressed you directly through Iraq's mass media, the only possible means of announcing what we wanted to communicate to you, just as I, reciprocally heard your words through your mass media. The last initiative for attaining a total and comprehensive peace which was offered to you with pure intentions was the initiative presented on January 5, 1990. However, up to the present, together we have not been able

to attain the peace which our two countries have desired so that we could distance ourselves from the scourge of war or the possibility of (re)kindling the flames of another war. It is obvious that a good cause and whatever can serve as the basis and foundation for aspirations and desires may be placed in a halo of doubt, uncertainty and dubious interpretations...Thus now ... without engaging in a reiteration of past viewpoints that could reciprocally result in the expression of your viewpoints, and distance the discussion from its constructive limits and objectives, and lead towards a dispute wherein the elements of conflict would become apparent; and in order to prevent such a situation from affecting our desired agreement for the attainment of an implementable, comprehensive and speedy peace, God-willing, not only between Iraq and Iran but between the Arab *umma* and Iran, this time I shall address you directly in this Holy Month wherein Muslims are fasting and turning to find refuge in the will of the Most Holy and Great God; I am proposing that a direct meeting take place between us, [a meeting] in which from our side, I, God's creature, the sender of this letter, and Ezat Ebrahim along with a group of our assistants, and from your side, Mr. Ali Khamenei and Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani with a number of your assistants should participate. I also propose that this meeting take place in revered Mecca, the *Kibla* of Muslims and the ancient household which our Lord Abraham (Peace Be Upon Him) constructed, or in any other venue which we shall agree on in order that with God's help we can strive for the attainment of a peace which our peoples

and all of the Muslim *umma* are waiting for; in this way, we can prevent the blood that for any reason may once again spill on the ground. For one of the possibilities resulting from the *status quo* is that elements that have plotted against Iran and Iraq in the past, are trying once again to launch the war in such a fashion as to distance the two countries from peace. You have surely been following the news concerning the threats against Iraq and the Arab *umma* from [the part of] Zionism and some superpowers and large countries, and undoubtedly know that the main objective of these threats is to leave the hands of the Zionist regime open to corrupt the world so that it can suppress whoever becomes an obstacle to falsehood, and whoever tries to prevent the Zionist regime from its evil intentions and greed in the region, and whoever tries, on the path of liberating the Arab land of Palestine and Holy Ghods* which is dear not only to every Muslim, but to every believer in God, the Books, His Prophets, and the Day of Resurrection. We hope with the help of God that the desires of these evil forces will come to nought and their arrows will miss [the target], for they shall surely try to restart the armed and bloody conflict between Iran from our side and the Arab *umma* from the other, and these [forces] have at their disposal considerable potential to attain this [aim]; in that case, not only will the Muslims lose that opportunity to put their capabilities and what is available [to them] to work for the purpose of liberating that

* Jerusalem

which is sacred to them in Palestine, but will have to suffer enumerable losses as well.

It is our belief that in the direct meeting which we shall have together, the achievement of what Iraq deems as its right and what Iran considers as its right is attainable; this meeting shall block the path of opportunists and those who may try to pollute the peaceful and tranquil environment, provided that intentions are honestly directed towards observing a God-approved peace and one which meets with the satisfaction of our peoples. To [the point] where it concerns us, this intention exists along with a deep and enduring faith, and in that there is nothing but the desire to attain our permanent rights which parallel your permanent rights. With reference to the principle that to make haste for good deeds is admirable, I propose that this meeting take place on the second day of the blessed Aide Fetre or any other time which will be agreed upon.

Regarding your trip to Mecca and the relevant protocol to be provided by the host country, on the basis of the mutually brotherly and respectable relationship which we have with our brethren in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, we shall request our brother, King Fahd Abdol Aziz to provide whatever is necessary and appropriate in such a situation. Note that we have not as yet informed him of the contents of this letter.

In order to facilitate ... and make preparations for this meeting, you may be of the same opinion as us that a person

be present as our representative in Tehran while a representative from your side be present in Baghdad, and in order to make the necessary contacts between the two capitals, direct telephone communication lines be established.

Oh God, Thou be a witness that I have communicated [this].

Va Ssalam Aleikom (Peace be upon you).

Saddam Hussein

Baghdad, 26 Ramadan 1410 H.Q.
corresponding to 21 April 1990

**Text of Letter of the Head of the Government of
Palestine and Chairman of the Executive Commit-
tee of the Palestinian Liberation Organization
Dated 27 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [3 Ordibehesht
1369 H.S., 22 April 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Eminent Jurisprudent, His Eminence Mr. Ali
Khamenei

His Excellency (Brother) President of the Islamic Republic
of Iran, Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani

With greetings of *jihad* and revolution,

I seize the opportunity to inform you through brother Abu
Khaled, my envoy and bearer of President Saddam Hussein's
special letter, which was given to him by me, that the Iraqi
President's unexpected and important letter is, in fact, in-
dicative of Iraq's initiative of good-will towards Iran; in other
words, the good-will of the Iraqi leadership towards its
brethren, the members of the Iranian leadership. This letter

has been dispatched due to the momentous conditions facing the Islamic *umma* in general and the Arab *umma* in particular. The conditions referred to are the result of the joint international decision taken on the issue of immigration of Jews in the Soviet Union and the East European countries following the summit meeting (of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.) in Malta. The number of Jewish immigrants in the future ten years will exceed 3 million and reach 4 million in view of their increasing birthrates. Thus, a new Israel will emerge in the Middle East and this means the stabilization of the domination of colonialists over Islamic Holy Places in Palestine and Ghods, the first *Kiblah* and the third Holy Sanctuary. Moreover, the immigration of Jews mentioned takes place solely to suppress the blessed uprising of the *mujahid* Palestinian nation.

In the face of the new developments in threats posed by Israel, the U.S.A. and some European states against the Arab nations, the Islamic *umma* and the entire region -- threats that aim to impose through Israel -- this bridgehead and spearhead of the global forces of arrogance -- their hegemony over the Middle East region which, in addition to its strategic location, contains the most significant oil resources in the world, the Arab and Islamic world and even the Third World nations and countries, especially the Palestinian people, expect you to take a positive and constructive initiative in response to the initiative displayed by President Saddam Hussein.

The Iraqi President's initiative emanates from a combination of the above-mentioned factors and laudable efforts which are the starting point for our movement towards putting an end to the *status quo* existing between the two Muslim and brotherly nations of Iran and Iraq; an end guaranteeing the interests of both the Iranian and Iraqi governments as well as the Islamic *umma* of the land of Palestine and its *mojahid* nation; a nation which from the Holy Mosque of Al-Aghsa has fixed its eyes on the success of the said initiative, and lives for the attainment of the wish for unity, empowerment and the will of Muslims vis-a-vis Palestine, the land of captives and ascension.

In view of these facts, I sincerely and in brotherhood ask you in the name of all that is sacred, to let us take this auspicious step swiftly, for Muslims have pinned their hearts on you and are eager to witness the success of this measure.

I and your brothers, the *mojahid* people of Palestine -- with all the global concern, approval and support which they enjoy, for the attainment and success of this initiative that is in the interest of the Islamic *umma* -- [we] shall be sincerely faithful.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

"Our Lord! Decide between us and our people with truth for Thou art the best of deciders."

God, the Supreme, Speaketh the Truth

*God is aware of our intentions.**

Congratulations to you and the brother nation of Iran on the approach of Aide Fetre, that with God's help we may pray beside each other in liberated Ghods.

Your brother,
Yasser Arafat Al-Husseini,
Head of the Government of Palestine
and Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Palestinian Liberation Organization
27 Ramadan 1410
22 April 1990

* Translator's note: All the Arabic sentences in this book have been translated by Mr. Seyed Ali Ghazvini, Institute for Political and International Studies.

**Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of
Iran Dated 6 Shaval 1410 H.Q. [12 Ordibehesht
1369 H.S., 2 May 1990] to the Iraqi President's
Letter Dated 26 Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [2 Or-
dibehesht 1369 H.S., 21 April 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds; and prayers and peace
be upon Mohammad, His Servant and His Messenger, and
upon his good [and] purified family.*

His Excellency Mr. Saddam Hussein:

Your letter dated the 26th of the Holy Month of Ramadan 1410 H.Q. has been seen. In truth, had the issues raised in your letter been considered eight years ago, and in lieu of soldiers, messages had been dispatched, today the two countries of Iran and Iraq and possibly all of the Islamic *umma* would not have been confronted with such tremendous loss and disaster. All are aware that the Islamic Revolution from its inception and always has endeavored to strive

for the closeness of the Islamic countries and the grandeur and glory of Islam and Muslims; and to struggle against the usurper government of Israel and fight for the independence of Palestine. If all Arab governments of the region had recognized and appreciated this anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist* revolution, like some did, and had cooperated with it, today the power equation in the Middle East would have benefited Islam and Muslims, and Israel and the arrogant would not have had the opportunity to expand themselves and spread their evil activities.

Of course, we do not have any problems with the Arab *umma* and have benefited from the sincere cooperation of some Arab governments. Unfortunately the historic opportunity [existing] in the past 10 years has been lost. From the very beginning of the Islamic Revolution, an unwanted and destructive war was imposed on us and a large area of our homeland on the western borders was occupied; and an enormous amount of human, economic and military resources of the two great nations of Iran and Iraq which should have been employed in the struggle against blasphemy and atheism was destroyed.

The enemies of Islam and the great powers, especially world-devouring America benefited from this war, and in order to provide an excuse for supporting certain countries of the region, began either to intervene in the domestic affairs of these countries or to expand their interventions. Israel was also able to take advantage of the situation and to

* It can be translated literally as "anti-arrogance."

implement part of its expansionist and aggressive policies. Normalizing the Camp David humiliation and the collusion of certain governments in the region with the usurper Israel is the consequence of this situation.

We have repeatedly stated that if this war would not have been started, and the capabilities of both the nations of Iran and Iraq would have been employed for the unity and protection of the interests of Muslims, Western imperialism and Zionism would not have dared to display such audacity.

In any case, one must learn a lesson from the past and be aware that a continuation of the state of no peace, no war or the outbreak of another war will only bring more destruction to both the countries and people of Iran and Iraq, incapacity for the Islamic *umma*, and for the non-believers worldwide, joy and the opportunity for extracting concessions.

Of course, the lesson which the imposed war taught to doubters was that military attacks are not capable of weakening the foundations of the Islamic Revolution, supported by the will of the Muslim people.

I find it necessary to emphasize here that just as the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, His Eminence Imam Khomeini (May his grave be sanctified) stated after the acceptance of the U.N. Resolution, "we speak sincerely to our people, we contemplate a lasting peace within the framework of Resolution 598 and this is not, by any means, a tactic." In the attempt to attain a true and comprehensive peace we shall not enter-

tain any self-doubts, and His Eminence Ayatollah Khamenei, the Great Leader of the Revolution will decisively continue along the same path outlined by the late Imam for the attainment of a comprehensive peace.

On this basis, we shall welcome any kind of initiative or proposal which would help to bring the two countries closer to a comprehensive peace. Particularly under present circumstances, when the supporters of the usurper Israel are planning to take advantage of the disunity in the Muslim world in order to extract more concessions, weaken Muslims, and strengthen conspiratorial Zionism, we do not consider the state of no war, no peace as beneficial; and, thus we decisively choose the path of a true and comprehensive peace which encompasses the good of the Islamic *umma*.

I would like to call your attention to this fact that the continued occupation of a portion of our Islamic homeland can slowdown the momentum on the path towards a comprehensive peace, or make it futile. You know that after we made the decision to terminate the war, we immediately recalled all our forces from inside Iraqi territory back to the borders. Rest assured that such a situation [the continued occupation of part of our territory] will -- for the Muslim people of Iran who have dedicated themselves to Islam and the Revolution -- raise serious doubts as to the good will of the other side; and we are determined that on the path of peace -- just as during the period of defense -- to retain the people's confidence.

Another point is that before attempting to arrange a meeting between the presidents of the two countries, it is necessary for representatives appointed by me and you to meet in a country which has friendly relations with both sides in order to discuss what must be done so that the groundwork and preliminaries for the ultimate decisions can be made without any loss of time; and on the other hand, the method of implementation must be such that it will not affect the validity of Resolution 598 which forms a suitable framework for the resolution of differences.

I desire nothing but reform. So far I am able. On Him do I rely and to Him I turn. And peace is on him who follows the guidance.

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

6 Shaval 1410 H.Q. *

corresponding to 12/2/69 H.S. **

[2 May 1990]

* H.Q. stands for Hejira (or the beginning of the Muslim era) computed according to the lunar calendar.

** H.S. stands for Hejira computed according to the solar calendar.

**Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of
Iran Dated 28 Shaval 1410 H.Q. [3 Khordad
1369 H.S., 24 May 1990] to the Letter Dated 27
Ramadan 1410 H.Q. [3 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S.,
22 April 1990] of the Head of the Palestinian
Government and Chairman of the Executive Com-
mittee of the PLO**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Yasser Arafat
Chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization

I received Your Excellency's letter sent via a special envoy. It is our desire in such difficult and critical times to have all anti-Zionist and resistant Islamic countries, movements and forces to gather around a united axis which is the same as *jihad* until freedom and liberation.

The leadership and the revolutionary Muslim nation of Iran have explicitly reiterated their consideration of the

Palestinian problem as their own and voiced their support to grant such facilities as to secure the rights of this brave, resistant, and combatant Muslim nation. The response to your letter has been given in such a way as to pave the way for the attainment of a lasting peace and harmony among the Islamic countries vis-a-vis the Zionist aggressions and if the [other] side acts with good will, we shall achieve results.

May God help Your Excellency in fulfilling your duties and grant the brother nation of Palestine honor and prosperity.

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
President of the Islamic Republic of Iran
3/3/1369
[24 May 1990]

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24
Shaval 1410 H.Q. [29 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S.,
19 May 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Ali Khamenei:

Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani:

We have received your letter dated 6 Shaval 1410 which was written in response to our letter of 26 Ramadan 1410 (corresponding to 21 March 1990). Your letter has been studied more than once by me and my brethren in the Iraqi leadership. Although what we gather from your letter in connection with our proposal for a meeting of the heads of state, in order to solve decisively and finally the existing difficulties between the two countries which have been the cause or the result of the conflict, is that you are in agreement with it, and thus we are happy about this matter; however, the spirit of your message was not what we expected it to be,

for in the introduction at every opportunity, the wording contained double-meanings and the ending was rather severe.

Gentlemen, when we contemplated communicating with you directly, we studied the extraordinary circumstances prevailing in our relationship and came to the conclusion that the method of communicating directly, and the kind of relationship that would emerge on that basis was a more useful approach for the convening of this meeting and the holding of direct talks; and that for the realization of a desirable peace not only between Iran and Iraq but also between the Arab *umma* and Iran, no other approach would be as beneficial and effective. We know and we presume that you also know that peace between our two countries cannot be realized if it is to be based upon whether the other side believes in its attainment. If parallel to favoring peace, thoughts, meanings and approaches are not approved by the opposite side, it will not be beneficial.

Before writing our first letter, we recalled this point that during the past ten years both sides employed and heard the strongest and most severe words against one other. Notwithstanding the consequences of this approach and its effects which was one dimension of the conflict and war between us, this method was incapable of achieving peace. From amongst the phrases used in your letter are "imposed war" and "mental slowness," and in the letter's closing instead of saying "and peace be upon you" which should generally be

utilized in such letters, "and peace is on him who follows the guidance," was employed.

As we desire peace only because of the exalted place it has in our conscience and for reasons of faith, the concepts and terminology we use in our letters are such that they are in harmony with human standards and our lofty objectives. Thus we only utilize words that both God and man would approve of, and this situation in the first instance does not mean that there has been a change in all our concepts and viewpoints, but that we would like to open a new chapter in order that it will be closer to the heart of the other side, and to have the power of influencing it more in order to be able to serve the peace which is our noble aim and which is to the benefit of all nations and humanity.

As this approach is worthy and proper for such a path and destination, duty calls that we experiment with a new mode of correspondence, unlike the mode used during the war period or before it. Additionally, employing words and phrases used during the war period does not create this apprehension that the user of such words has acquired additional power than what it was known to have had during the war. Needless to say, such an approach does not prove the rightness of a matter. If the employment of the correct terminology in such correspondence does not add to the capability of the capable, and after trusting in God and asking for His help, his power cannot be reduced nor his proven right taken away; but there will be an opening for light to

enter into the hearts of those who have been afflicted with considerable pain and suffering because of the war. And if those hearts are set on the path of righteousness, they will be guided towards the good that will make peace possible.

Thus what we have found to be proper in our mutual correspondence was to avoid writing what we considered our right in order that you too may not be impelled to write what you think is your right. If we do not do this, there is the possibility that the suitable psychological preparedness for both sides to welcome direct talks may not be secured. Our intention is not to hold talks concerning useful topics that each side perceives as worthy of presentation, but so that in this way each side recognizes the relationship between the first and last steps on the road to peace and sees the peace process as comprised of a collection of related preliminary steps; and thus to specifically comprehend the connection between what he deems is his right and what the other side considers as his right.

Now that we are together making an effort to attain peace, it is better that neither side refer to the past so that in this way the future will not suffer. For the policy of regurgitating past events will only lead to where our people (who are more capable than us in recognizing such particularities) will accuse the side who possesses this characteristic of mental retardation.

With reference to the above matters [we would like to state that], we do not wish to escape from the past, for you know

or have made this evaluation that we are capable of producing enough documents to prove details of our viewpoints in a debate venue (on who started the war and the conflict... and how it began?). You also know that the documents and evidence for convincing a large portion of our population and the world community is more effective than the words and prejudgments of the leaders of both countries. As you know, to question this matter and deliberate on it as a prelude to discussions, just as you did before July of 1988 in connection to the time sequence (specifying who initiated the war), is a claim the proof of which will require as much time and effort as the entire war period and the period before it. You also know that each side in the conflict has its own specific date for the outbreak of the war, and in this matter documentary reference is made to the actual and legal reasons and events other than those of the other side, and it is there that it will become obvious who, in describing the war as "the imposed war," and who, in referring to the sending of letters instead of soldiers, and... has more of a right.

Concerning Security Council Resolution 598, from our point of view, we accepted that Resolution when it was passed in July 1987. This Resolution is a comprehensive and permanent peace plan between our two countries, based on what the two can agree on and wherein both can seek help from the principles and instructions. Thus we are committed to this Resolution, and based on this understanding, to its implementation. While we struggle to attain peace, we as-

sume that the two countries' desire and use for peace enjoys the same kind of enthusiasm and strength. For conflict is not becoming to either side, that a prepayment* other than the serious desire for attaining peace (that can be talked about with practical and logical interpretations) be made in order for a direct meeting to take place. It is obvious that the achievement of peace will confine each country's army within its own boundaries and will terminate its presence on any hill, or an inch of land, or in the waters of the other side--a presence that had been forced upon it by the ceasefire and the neither peace nor war conditions and considerations.

In your letter, you mentioned that you had withdrawn from Iraq's territories... to the end of the sentence. And of course, what you meant was that your withdrawal from Halabche was undertaken under special and recognized circumstances. Our analysis of this is that ... the withdrawal of our military forces from your territory, which they had entered under identifiable conditions at the beginning of the armed conflict in 1980, took place on June 20, 1982. In this way, we announced our decision concerning withdrawal to the mass media on June 10, 1982, and stated that at the maximum in 10 days time we would withdraw our forces, and in fact we did, while the withdrawal of your forces from Halabche was undertaken under special wartime conditions, unlike the conditions existing at the time of our withdrawal. So if you consider your withdrawal from Halabche (which was under-

* The literal translation is "preprice."

taken under special circumstances) as proof of your good will and that you do not covet or desire to occupy the territories of others, then our withdrawal from your land after the fourth Tavakolna Ali-ollah (military) operation in the southern and central regions in July of 1988 is one more reason among others of our good will and our reluctance to occupy one inch of Iranian territory. In any case, from our point of view, one of the meanings of peace is that neither side should usurp the established right of the other nor usurp or occupy an inch of the other's land or waters. And this is the approach that we have always emphasized and have been committed to it under the most difficult and hostile circumstances. Thus it is obvious that while we invite you to be responsible to this in the ambiance of the peace negotiations, and, God willing, as a pathway to the attainment of peace, we ourselves are committed to it.

We have been notified through your ambassador, of your response to our ambassador's questions in Geneva, of the substance of your letter concerning the preparatory meetings between the representatives of the two sides, that you prefer this approach for the preparation of the summit between the two heads of state. We agree with this approach, and have granted our ambassador in Geneva, Mr. Barzan Ebrahim Al-Takriti the authority of participating in the negotiations with your ambassador in Geneva, Mr. Cyrus Nasser.

In our view, the assignment of our representatives could be an exchange of views on the positions of both sides in order that each side can get acquainted with the other side's position concerning issues of interest to both countries. It could be that the representatives could agree on some issues and provide at the time of the summit a clear picture, making our endeavor easier; and, possibly whatever cannot be agreed upon can be left for the summit for ultimate consideration. Concerning the meeting place of the heads of state, we are waiting for your proposal, for in your response to our proposal of revered Mecca, we did not get a definite reply. This can be one of the issues that can be discussed between our representatives. But concerning who should participate in the summit, we believe that if you have accepted in practice the idea of the meeting between the heads of state and are determined to attain this goal with us, trusting in God, the summit meeting must include the principle decision-makers of the two countries. For our presence together at the level of heads of state is a test of our seriousness in the ultimate solution of this dispute in such a fashion as to be acceptable to both sides.

If with the help of God this matter is settled, the result will be a lasting and comprehensive peace. Thus, if some of the major authoritative centers of decision-making (who are capable of saying yes or no) are not present in these meetings, it can affect both the implementation of whatever has been agreed upon and the extent and the degree of commit-

ment. For their non-participation in the meetings will neither safeguard their views nor will it give assurance in a desirable manner to the signatories of the agreement; or it could prevent the implementation of the meetings' ratifications or subject them to (certain) modifications. Furthermore, peace in practice begins from the point wherein its growth has sprung from the soul of the peacemakers and when it has permanently taken shape in their bosoms.*

Therefore, those who have from the beginning participated in creating the peace, will ethically and psychologically hold themselves responsible and committed to the implementation of it. In addition, the participation of all the centers of decision-making, will block the road to any possible seeking of excuses that could, after the peace agreement, complicate or slow down the peace process. In this way, I shall once more reiterate my commitment to our proposal that in the summit meeting, the Head of the Revolutionary Command Council, the President, and the Deputy Head of the Revolutionary Command Council from our side, and Mr. Ali Khamenei and Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani from Iran's side, should participate.

* The literal translation of this sentence is as follows: "Furthermore peace in practice begins from the point wherein its growth has commenced in the soul of the weavers of the structure of peace and been placed in a permanent manner in their bosoms."

And God is behind the goal (aim).

Va Ssalam Aleikom (Peace be upon you).

Saddam Husseln

Baghdad, 24 Shaval 1410 H.Q

19 May 1990

**Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic
of Iran Dated 24 Zighadat-ol-Haram 1410 H.Q.
[28 Khordad 1369 H.S., 18 June 1990] to the
Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24 Shaval 1410
H.Q. [29 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S., 19 May 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*Praise be to God; and peace is on God's Messenger, and his
family and his generous companions.*

His Excellency Mr. Saddam Hussein:

We have received your second letter dated 29 Ordibehesht 1369 H.S. (24 Shaval 1410 H.Q.). Since the possibility of the seriousness of your government on the path of peace can to a large extent be implied from your letter, we will also answer [your] second letter. However, we expect that from now on we do not waste time exchanging letters, unless when necessary, and that our two nations and the people of the region should no longer suffer and witness losses under such no war,

no peace conditions. We pray that this may be the last letter and that we will be a witness to serious practical steps taken on the road to peace.

In your letter you have complained about certain expressions and remarks made in our letter to you. In our correspondence concerning peace, we too are not content with the employment of offensive terminology, but, unfortunately the stone of this edifice was laid in your first letter which in your own words aimed at eliminating the remaining conflictual elements, and facilitate the path to friendship.

For instance, in your first letter it was somehow alleged that our [opposing] side, so to speak, was "the Arab *umma*," a matter on which great effort was unsuccessfully exerted all through the war to have it accepted. In those days when you and your party were talking of the progressive trend and the opposition front (position), you stated that individuals like the kings, sheikhs, and emirs who were behind you during the war, were not "the Arab *umma*;" but enough has been said and written, and enough clear documents are available to divulge their true nature.

It is unlikely that you have forgotten that the majority of progressive governments who were with you in the "opposition front" were either on our side or neutral in this conflict; and you are well acquainted with the people's situation, especially the devoted Islamic forces.

And also in your first letter, as [though you were] the custodian of Palestinian affairs and the Palestinians and

resistant forces who stand against the onslaught of imperialism, you extended an invitation to us, although it is not very probable that the writers of this letter were unaware of the empathy and vanguard nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran on this issue; and [it is highly improbable] that they did not realize that the primary objective of the onslaught of the arrogant is really directed towards the Islamic Republic of Iran and if this letter was written for the purpose of gaining our confidence, it would have been better that the above reality would not have been overlooked.

In addition [to the fact] that in your letter you did not observe the conventional etiquette employed in formal and prevalent forms of correspondence, in your first and second letters, also, other offensive and negative terminology and expressions similar to what you criticized in our letters existed. So it is better to leave these and pass on, for if you had not opened the door of complaints, we would not have even mentioned these points, for we now reflect upon peace and not of arguing and having a war of letters.

Concerning the official negotiators, it is good to clarify from right now that His Eminence Ayatollah Khamenei, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution will not be participating in the negotiations. Of course, the President and other responsible officials will not take any action contrary to the Leader's wishes, and in all important issues will procure his views before taking any action. On this issue, too, if the President participates in the negotiations, he will definitely do so with

full powers so that the decisions taken will certainly be implemented ; and thus, there is no cause for worry (as could be discerned from your letter).

In your second letter, in order to prove your good will and seriousness on the path of peace, you made a comparison between the withdrawal of our forces after the acceptance of the Resolution (598) and the [prevailing] circumstances after the "Beytolmoghadas Operation," and the retaking of Khoramshahr and the tactical withdrawals at the end of the war.

I wish that you would not have brought up this discussion so that the necessity would not have arisen to give further explanations. You yourself know that even after our conquest of Khoramshahr, your military forces remained in the mid-fronts in many places within Iran's territory, such as in the cities of Naftshahr, Khosravi, Mehran, and tens of villages and hills where the conditions were different from those in the southern front where in most of the regions, from the beginning of the war up to today, have been under the occupation of your forces. It is improbable that your commanders have concealed these truths from you.

Although in your letters emphasis has repeatedly been placed on the necessity of avoiding the adoption of controversial and reactive positions, in your second letter you have referred to certain claims which are incompatible with your [repeated] emphases; and you are aware that rights are not defined on the basis of perceptions and personal wishes,

but on the basis of recognized laws and regulations. It is our belief that one of the most important principles that guarantees the establishment of a durable and honorable peace between our two countries is the principle of good faith in fulfilling one's promises and respecting international obligations.

We consider the emphasis you have placed on the credibility of 598 Resolution as positive, but must mention that this Resolution is clear and free of ambiguity, and can be implemented on the basis of the proposed procedures of the Secretary-General who has the responsibility for implementing them.

Repeating a useless stance whose non-productivity has been demonstrated from the first few negotiating sessions under the auspices of the Secretary-General, portraying as difficult the designation of who initiated the war (which according to Resolution 598 is one of the key responsibilities of the Secretary-General in order to establish a comprehensive and lasting peace between the two countries), blocking the road to gradual measures and practical steps in the direction of attaining a comprehensive and final peace, and making unreasonable claims and other similar things which are incompatible with the good will necessary for peaceful purposes are not fitting for either side. Unfortunately, inappropriate statements reflected in the Arab summit resolution in Baghdad in connection with Resolution 598 issues and the rights of Iraq and Iran, can become a difficulty on

the path of obtaining trust and confidence in the good will and peace-lovingness which will have to be remedied.

Mr. Cyrus Nasserli will participate as my representative in the negotiations with your representative; his mission will be to negotiate on substantive issues for the implementation of the Resolution [598] and to prepare the groundwork for the reestablishment of peaceful relations between the two Muslim countries of Iran and Iraq. We have requested him to refrain from participating in nonsubstantive and marginal discussions which can only result in a loss of time and the continuation of the present situation. It is also necessary to emphasize that a summit meeting (between the presidents) is only appropriate and advisable when both sides are confident of its positive results; for if the results are not positive, it is possible that its negative results can be more damaging than the present situation.

Due to the negative stances of the Saudi rulers towards the Islamic Revolution of Iran both in the past and the present, the land (under the jurisdiction) of the government of Saudi Arabia at present is not a suitable place for peace negotiations, and in view of the existence of numerous venues, we shall not have any difficulty in selecting an appropriate venue. It is preferable that the proper location be designated close to the start of the negotiations; and we are in agreement with your proposition that our representatives in the preliminary negotiations can specify the venue.

It is natural that during the preliminary negotiations, the Secretary-General of the United Nations will be notified of the negotiations (in progress) and when necessary his views and initiatives on the way to strengthening the peace will be taken into consideration and employed; and we shall not restrict the path to peace to direct negotiations only (as you mentioned in your second letter) and will not close other paths (to peace), including the main path -- the larger part of which we have already tread.

In closing, I beseech Almighty God, to grant us total success in eliminating hostility and the roots of conflict, and in paving the path to peace and cooperation between our two nations and other peoples and governments of the region for the welfare of the Islamic *umma*, and for *jihad* with the enemies of Islam and Muslims, especially in the complete liberation of the Islamic land of Palestine.

And with none but God is the direction of my affair to a right issue; on Him do I rely and to Him I turn.

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

Tehran

28 Khordad 1369 H.S.

corresponding to 24 Zighadat-ol-Haram 1410 H.

[18 June 1990]

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 24
Zihaje 1410 H.Q. [25 Tir 1369 H.S., 16 July 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

"And say: Act and God will observe your actions, and (so will) His messenger on the believers. God, the Supreme, speaketh the truth."

Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Salam Aleikom,

In order to expedite the peace process, I would like to announce my desire to send my representative to you in order to hold face-to-face discussions on the establishment of peace between our two countries and inquire as to your views concerning whatever will facilitate the implementation of peace in Iraq and Iran.

According to your wish this meeting can be made public or kept confidential.

And God grant success.

Saddam Hussein
Baghdad, 24 Zihaje 1410
corresponding to 16 Tamooz 1990
[16 July 1990]

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 8
Moharram 1411 H.Q. [8 Mordad 1369, H.S.,
30 July 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
Honorable President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Assalam Aleikom

After studying carefully what must be studied, and after close scrutiny of the change[s] in the current relations between Iraq and Iran, and the dangers that have engulfed the region and encompassed it, and in order to continue our role in presenting initiatives in [our] actions which can provide wider opportunities for the realization of peace, on the basis of the national and human responsibilities which the principles of our great beliefs have placed on our shoulders, we have found ourselves in a position to present a new proposal. In view of the fact that this time, our proposed initiative

covers all substantial issues which the paragraphs in Security Council Resolution 598 deals with as a whole, within one framework and in a detailed fashion, we are hoping that the response to it will be on the same level and the reconciliation regarding it will be on such a serious level, so that the opportunity to live under peaceful conditions when even the details have been agreed upon, will not be taken away from our two nations, and this matter is intended to repel the designs of the enemies of nations who are endeavoring to, God forbid, bring the conditions of the two countries to those that existed prior to August 1988; thus, whoever has given up anything has lost without having gained any profit. Satanic forces who are searching in the dark and who possess the tools of trickery and deception, by reference to the reality that war between the two countries from the legal point of view has not been terminated, can lead the two countries towards something that can once again ignite the fire of war* between them. And as you know, the outbreak of war can be due to affairs which may appear to be simple, just as a terrible fire starts from one spark.

The evil forces that are lurking may, due to their inability to realize their objectives, without involving the two countries or one of them in war or perhaps because of their concern over the accumulated weapons of the warring sides and often times motivated by their desire to know the performance of these weapons or parts of them, attempt to

* The literal translation is the spark of war.

create a spark with their sinister instruments and for this they may not have much problems, especially in a battle front that extends twelve hundred kilometers in land and almost eight hundred kilometers in the sea. These fronts are full of possibilities and probabilities for scattered sparks from (the mouths of) these weapons. Hence, for a start, there is no need for the opening of fire by many people. It is sufficient for one person, for whatever reason and influenced by any factor, to engage in such an act and cause a large number of people to open fire, and, accordingly, great loss will face everybody and from this no one but the lowly will benefit and all these activities, as we said previously, will be to the detriment of our nations.

As such a situation is not the aim of either Iraq or Iran, and as stated by the representatives of both countries, therefore, duty commands us that we should not only attain peace but attain it as quickly as possible so that the possibility of the dreams of ill-wishers and oppressors about our region coming true shall not happen.*

On the basis of all these issues, we shall attempt to make the following points:

1) We shall once again propound the idea of the prompt meeting between the heads of the two countries in a location to be agreed upon so that we can discuss the subject matters on which we concur in order to be able to achieve a

* The literal translation of this last phrase is "shall remain distant from our scene."

comprehensive and permanent peace.

2) Discussions and agreements should include all outstanding issues, and the proposition of each new issue after reaching a comprehensive accord, if not agreed upon by the other side will be considered as a rejected matter by the other side and regarded as an evasion of the agreement; subjects of minor issues concurred on must be selected from the paragraphs of Resolution 598, and this agreement which is based on this understanding and with emphasis on this (fact) that the main objective of Resolution 598 is the attainment of a comprehensive and permanent peace through talks and not any other thing, and on the grounds that areas of general agreement are indivisible and must be presented as a total and interconnected deal wherein the violation of a paragraph among the paragraphs will mean the breach of all the paragraphs.

3) It is unimportant from where the talks and agreements concerning the issues should commence; however, agreement concerning each one of the areas or several of the areas of the topics for discussion according to section 2 of this letter will depend on consensus on the other paragraphs. Therefore, each of the two sides involved (in the talks) has the right to reply to every one-sided statement of the other side as he deems appropriate, including the right to reject parts of the agreement concerning every subject of discussion.

4) Withdrawal will take place within a time schedule of no more than two months from the date of the final approval of

the comprehensive agreement of the two sides, the shorter the time period, the better. Also agreement should be reached concerning the uninterrupted relationship of each step which each side of the conflict takes in the implementation of its commitments to the agreements, in such a manner that it should be responded to with a proportional and parallel step of the other side.

5) We continue to consider the issue of prisoners of war as falling under the Geneva Conventions, and on this basis we assume that their release must be implemented on the basis of the paragraphs of the aforementioned conventions; and two years has now passed since (the time of) the release of the prisoners of war which had been based on the said conventions; in other words, two years have expired between the establishment of the ceasefire and the present time.

Thus, in order to facilitate the peace process, we, while taking note of the above principles and understandings, see no reason why we cannot come to an agreement and plan for the release of the prisoners of war within the framework of the specified time in section 4 (two months) from the date of the final approval of the agreement to be considered as the maximum time limit; and the quicker this job is undertaken, the better it is.

6) Discussions concerning the Shatt-ul Arab (should) take place on the basis of the following three headings:

a. Complete sovereignty of the river should be Iraq's for it is its historical and legitimate right.

b. The exercise of sovereignty over the Shatt-ul-Arab by Iraq together with the application of the thalweg line in navigation in such a manner as to provide Iran and Iraq with the right of shipping, fishing and participation in the regulation of navigation over the Shatt-ul-Arab and the apportionment of the profit to be divided.

c. To submit the Shatt-ul-Arab issue to arbitration within the framework of a formula to be agreed upon along with a prior guarantee based on the acceptance of the arbitration results and until such time that the arbitration authorities pronounce their vote, to begin the dredging of the Shatt-ul-Arab according to a mutually agreed upon formula in order to prepare it for navigation and operation. The agreement is based on this assumption that the parties would together select one of the above three topics with this observation that the first topic represents Iraq's right and we assume that the other two represent Iran's inclination.

7) Agreement to delete Paragraph 6 of Resolution 598 from the talks and its definite omission; for not only does it not benefit peace but would also place obstacles on the path of peace and might even result in hostility, enmity and revenge in the future, and this under circumstances wherein peace has placed another path before the two nations of Iran and Iraq. In this respect, it is necessary to notify officially and in writing the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the agreements reached.

8) The implementation of none of the mentioned steps that will be included in the upcoming peace agreement between Iran and Iraq shall be commenced before taking all the legal actions necessary for their ratification according to the respective constitutions of the two states in such a manner as to legally establish and pronounce as inviolable its finality at the detailed and general levels. Meanwhile, it is required that the approved documents of the agreement be deposited simultaneously with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

9) The future peace agreement between Iran and Iraq shall include all the items agreed upon. In order to facilitate the speedy finalization of the peace agreement, the said agreement may, besides new topics and issues related to land boundaries and other agreed upon rights, also include, without disturbing the text of the present letter, certain items of the past agreements ratified during the history of relations between the two countries and any other matter duly agreed on.

10) The agreement shall include clear principles on the establishment of good neighborly relations, non-intervention in the internal affairs of one another and respect for the rights of each state in determining its political, economic and social system and also final and certain recognition of the right of all types of navigation in the international waterways of the [Persian] Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz.

11) It would probably be appropriate for an international body, to be agreed upon, to ensure the proper implementation of the agreement (e.g., the Security Council)

12) Knowing that the international circumstances are not favorable to reconstruction assistance, we believe that international assistance, subject of Paragraph 7 [of Resolution 598], be equitably divided between Iraq and Iran.

13) In order to facilitate bilateral contacts and in the light of the positive changes in the two countries' relations, we believe that our embassies in Tehran and Baghdad should be reopened, especially since our embassies remained open during war conditions and were only closed since September 1987.

Mr. President, what in our view guarantees a permanent and comprehensive peace between Iraq and Iran is exactly what has been written in this letter.

The above proposal is all-encompassing and the parts are interconnected and indivisible. Attaining this has been (made) possible by having sought assistance from experience and also from the talks between our representatives in Geneva, Messrs. Nasser and Barzan.

Thus everything has been clarified in such a manner as to leave no room for other interpretations, and the genuine, comprehensive and speedy peace which we have desired is this.

And God is Great.

Sending you best wishes and through you to the members
of Iran's leadership.

Saddam Hussein
President of Iraq
Baghdad, 8 Moharram 1411 H.Q.
corresponding to 30 July 1990

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 12
Moharram 1411 H.Q. [12 Mordad 1369 H.S.,
3 August 1990]**

In the Name of God, The Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

The Honorable President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Assalam Aleikom

On Friday morning, 3/8/1990, a summary of your political activities and part of what was issued by the government of Iran (statement issued by Iran's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and your meeting with the Military Commanders and the news printed in this connection) was brought to our attention.

In order to underscore the human responsibility I feel vis-a-vis the people of Iran in addition to the national respon-

sibility [I have] towards my own people, I deemed it advisable to once again write you this letter.

On (the date of) 16/7/1990 we proposed that you receive an envoy from our side for the purpose of advancing as soon as possible the peace process. At the time when your reply concerning the setting of a time for receiving our envoy was postponed, we hastened to despatch a letter and ordered our envoy to deliver it to you, so that while preparing to study the letter, you could also engage in the necessary discussions and the deliberations with your brothers in the leadership concerning the contents, views, and proposals therein. Thus (we wanted) to be informed of your positions in that regard after (your) circumstances permit; however, you have not as yet appointed a date in lieu of our proposed date (Monday, 30/7/1990) to receive our envoys; and before [despatching] this letter, on 2/8/1990, we sent you an explanation, on our own initiative, through your representative, Mr. Nasser in Geneva. We have taken all these actions not only as a sign of emphasizing our aspiration for peace but also to stress our desire for attaining a speedy peace in order that our two countries and our people can distance themselves from the whirlwind of change in the region and the world, and from [other] possibly dangerous events.

Mr. President ... these measures of mine are being undertaken as a whole because I am certain that warriors are capable of understanding each other and their objectives

quickly, although this quality of being a fighter has been achieved in the course of an armed conflict between them.

At present, after the Kuwait affair, signs of crisis have appeared on the horizon and it is possible that persons who do not show sufficient deliberation and forbearance can be drawn into the path of conflict. The most difficult of tasks and perhaps the most dangerous (of them) is that during a certain time period thoughts and actions for which the aim or objectives to be achieved were striven for through legitimate means, go [far] beyond them to the aim or objectives that would neither have legitimacy in the people's analysis nor in the thinking of those on the opposite side of the case. What we have understood from your announced objective is that you desire peace and we, from our side, have presented whatever emphasizes our preference for peace; and we know that you are striving for the achievement of a withdrawal; this matter was confirmed in our letter dated 30/7/1990 in which we also presented an unextendable timetable for the withdrawals.

Our letter dated 30/7/1990 contained specific remedies and implementable proposals and did not generalize on each of the paragraphs of Resolution 598 to which Iraq and Iran have stressed their allegiance. We are still awaiting your approval to set a date for receiving our two envoys whom we have introduced to you (the Foreign Minister and our Permanent Representative in Geneva) in order that, God willing, as we have hoped, after engaging in talks with you and

with those individuals which you will introduce, we shall stand at the threshold of the fateful stage of peace. Thus if your wish is the same as that which has been announced, (and) we know it, and our response to it consists of all the topics I have mentioned, then to falter in the course of transitory events which are related to relations between Arabs and in the frameworks of their past and present affairs, will distance your efforts from your aim and will distort the image of your objective; and if this image (of your objective) is distorted, it will be difficult to prepare the preliminaries for a task which it is hoped, that with the hastening of its completion, peace will be realized, and that may direct people with little experience in a direction which could lead (the state of) affairs into one that is distant from accurate calculations.

But in any case, I do not predict and I do not hope that individuals such as you and your brothers in Iran's leadership -- which have tested eight years of war -- will become disturbed and turn to something which is neither in the interest of Iran nor is one of the objectives of the Iranian people.

Without doubt or at least I am presuming that you are aware of the motive of the statements made yesterday morning, Thursday, 2/8/1990, both from within and without the region, and have earlier evaluated [what was said by] the [involved] sides; we have also evaluated them and we all know their motives.

But you know that when all of them come to realize that their statements vis-a-vis the desires of the great people of Iraq who are determined to ascertain their rights and to confront oppression, cowardice and plots -- will not accomplish anything, they are capable of adjusting their stances as they possess recognized means and capabilities. Those who export weapons to us and state that they have stopped exporting them, when they start the exporting once again, they will make an adjustment (in their business) and whoever severs its economic relations with us, on establishing these relations once again he will be in search of remedies; however, if Iran and Iraq, either one of them deviate from their correct positions, they will have lost an historical opportunity for their people to attain peace and also to establish their legitimate rights, and if the direction we have traversed on this path in our talks up to the present, and a reassuring beginning concerning one another's steps has been created -- if these are shaken -- then the resulting loss will be a great one, and I do not wish this for you, just as I do not wish it for us.

In any case, if what we know, and your announced objectives in the negotiations are your entire objectives -- just as we have emphasized that whatever we have declared surely consist the sum total of our objectives -- then we must hasten to set up our meeting and you have to hasten in appointing a date for receiving our representatives. It is in this way, and only in this way, that [our] legitimate rights can be attained

and peace that is the lofty goal of the people of our two countries can be achieved.

And God is Great, Va Ssalam Aleikom (Peace be upon you).

Saddam Hussein

**Baghdad, 12 Moharram 1411 H.Q.
corresponding to 3 August 1990**

**Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of
Iran Dated 16 Moharram 1411 H.Q. [17 Mordad
1369 H.S. ,7 August 1990] to the Iraqi President's
Letter Dated 12 Moharram 1411 H.Q.[12 Mor-
dad 1369 H.S., 3 August 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds, and prayer and peace
be upon Mohammad, His Apostle and His purified family.*

His Excellency Mr. Saddam Hussein

Honorable President

Your letter of 12/5/69 has been received. Although your letter was apparently composed for the purpose of advancing the peace negotiations, parts of the contents are regrettable. More than anything else, I deem it necessary to emphasize once again the will and desire of the Islamic Republic of Iran for attaining a just and durable peace. I hope that you, too, have come to this conclusion. After accepting Resolution

598, with total awareness of our responsibilities towards peace and its ramifications, we have initiated a sincere move in this direction and believe that nothing except what involves the legitimate and immutable rights of the Iranian people should limit our advance towards peace, and we have done just this. Our manner of approach -- whether during negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the U.N., in our response to your letter, or during the current talks between our representatives in Geneva -- should have clarified this issue for you.

Hastening the task of attaining peace and taking practical steps to implement Resolution 598 instead of engaging in correspondence and lengthy negotiations, have been what we have emphasized from the start of the negotiations between the representatives of both our countries in Geneva, and today we also believe that progress in the substance of the negotiations (and not in its form) -- and attempting to clarify one's position vis-a-vis the issues which are the key to the gateway of peace -- will bring us closer to our objective. This objective can eliminate the potential areas for the deterioration of the current situation or those artificially contrived by the enemies of Islam -- something which can be created, given the prevailing conditions in the region and the world. It is only thus that peace can be within reach of the two neighboring countries, and the forces engaged with each other can be used in the service of the vital needs of the two

nations, their basic responsibilities utilized for reconstruction, peace, and regional security.

While calling attention to the above matters, I deem it necessary to remind you of the following points concerning the contents of letters dated 12/5/1369 (3 August 1990), 8/5/1369 (30 July 1990) bearing no signature, and 25/4/69 (16 July 1990):

1) Meetings and negotiations at a higher level than those currently in progress in Geneva can only be acceptable if specific results are obtained in the ongoing Geneva negotiations which can then serve as a basis for subsequent stages [of negotiations]. Although the mission of our representatives was to negotiate on substantive issues, you (must) know that in the Geneva talks, except for getting more acquainted with each other's viewpoints, we have not made any progress worth mentioning. Also for this reason, just as I pointed out before, a summit between the two presidents can only be fruitful when important and key issues have been clarified and solved; if this is not done, failure in negotiations between the two presidents can hurt the peace [process] and distance us further from peace.

2) In your letter dated 8/5/1369 you made [certain] proposals concerning the Arvand River -- which although they are a kind of retreat from your previous announced claims -- it must be clear to you that they cannot be acceptable to us. Our specific proposal is to base the peace negotiations on the 1975 Treaty, for without abiding by past treaties, specifi-

cally that Treaty which bears your signature, we cannot expect that trust -- concerning what is said today -- can develop.

3) The time limit of two months for the withdrawal of your forces from Iran's occupied territories is inexplicable, for if this withdrawal is to be completed in goodwill, it can be completed in a day or two. In his [peace] plan the Secretary-General had designated a two-week period for the withdrawal of forces as compared to three months for the release of prisoners [of war].

4) It is surprising that, by resorting to Pan-Arabism, criticism has been levelled against our rightful stance on the occupation of Kuwait by the Iraqi army, while the most obvious issues such as planning for the extended presence of foreign forces in the region, depriving [the people] of welfare and tranquility and creating difficulties for the Muslim people, Islamic solidarity, neighborliness, breakdown of stability and regional security, changes in the conditions at the front and international obligations all have been neglected. How can one justify that in a letter which starts with the name of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and ends with the inspiring phrase of Allah-o-Akbar (God is Great), contrary to the explicit and moral teachings of Islam and the Quran, gives priority to racial and ethnic, instead of Islamic and ideological principles? The clear verses (state): "*The believers are naught else than brothers and verily, this brotherhood of yours is a single brotherhood and ... We have created you from a single (pair)*

of a male and a female, and we have made you nations and tribes that ye may know each other; verily the most honoured of you, in the sight of God, is (he who is) the most righteous of you." It is enough that every Muslim adopt a position so as to place Islamic principles above those of race, geography, and language. You are better aware than others of the policies of the government of Kuwait during the war and the details of their injustice vis-a-vis the Islamic Revolution of Iran, but our position emanates not from our relationship with individuals but from our principles.

5) Without doubt, at the time and under the conditions of peace negotiations between our two countries, to engage in an unexpected attack on a neighboring country without informing or concurring [with us] in the least and with its far-reaching consequences and ramifications for us, can weaken our trust and create serious doubt concerning the motive for the holding of negotiations during the past several months, especially since we have not, during this period, observed any actions which would demonstrate your good will; and we have been a witness to the continued occupation of our homeland and have taken note of your opposition concerning such a minor issue as putting out the fire of oil wells which has no other outcome other than the squandering of our Islamic country's wealth.

6) The tone of your recent letter was not appropriate with the conditions necessary for the holding of negotiations. Using the same kind of tone and language whose inadequacy

vis-a-vis our Muslim nation and Revolution has been tested before, and the use of analyses of the new positions of your former friends and supporters in order to convince us is inappropriate, for you know that in fact, we have tested and passed all these stages and have demonstrated that more than anything else we count on the faith, perseverance and support of our people and do not value the malevolence or benevolence of others of such particular importance as to base our lives, positions, and important decisions on them. We are not out to benefit from the prevailing conditions and desire nothing other than our legitimate and lawful rights -- this is what we have emphasized all through the [different] stages of the negotiations.

7) We accept wholeheartedly the point you have emphasized in your letter concerning the pace [necessary] to move towards peace, for what gives momentum to peace is not initiating formalistic propositions or raising the level of negotiations without having made progress in the substantive content (of the) negotiations; but [it is] the honoring of bilateral treaties that have been formally recognized internationally as such, and not to demand more than what is our legitimate right; for it is unimaginable that what has not been accomplished after 8 years of war can be achieved through negotiations. If we accept this matter, it is unnecessary to go after anything other than the 1975 Treaty in order to determine the land and river boundaries; and if we do not accept it, it is better to turn over the implementation of Resolution

[598] to the UN and the Security Council, while at the same time maintaining the Geneva communication line open for the exchange of views on matters of mutual [interest].

Va Ssalam Aleikom (Peace be upon you).

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
16 Moharram 1411 H.Q.
corresponding to 17/5/1369
[7 August 1990]

**Text of the Iraqi President's Letter Dated 23
Moharram 1411 H.Q. [23 Mordad 1369 H.S.,
14 August 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
Honorable President of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Trusting the Almighty and Exalted God and in order to remove obstacles in the path of brotherly relations with all Muslims, and those Muslims in the neighboring country of Iran who choose brotherhood and are in the path of creating space for deep bonds with all the pious so as to confront the evil and malevolent forces opposing Muslims and the Arab *umma*; and with the motivation to keep away Iran and Iraq from the blackmail and deceit of evil-seeking international forces and their cronies in the region and in harmony with our innovative spirit which, with the objective of attaining a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region, was an-

nounced on 12/8/1990; and, in order to take away anti-bonding excuses from those wavering and suspicious seekers of excuses and so that none of Iraq's capabilities is left unutilized in the big battle and in order to mobilize all these capabilities for the pursuit of objectives that all the honorable Muslims and Arabs concur in their rightfulness, and for the prevention of the conflict of positions* and removing doubts and suspicions so that the benevolent can find their way for establishing normal relations between Iraq and Iran; and as a result of discussions between us which lasted in a direct manner from our first letter dated 21/4/90 to your last letter dated 8/8/90; and since a final and clear solution will not leave any excuses for those seeking excuses, we have taken the following decisions:

1- We are in agreement with your proposal presented in your letter of 8 August 1990 which our representative in Geneva, Mr. Barzan Takriti received from your representative, Mr. Cyrus Nasser and which observes the necessity of recognizing the 1975 Treaty as the basis due to its being related to the principles mentioned in our letter dated 30 July 1990, especially those concerning the exchange of prisoners and Paragraphs 6 and 7 of Security Council Resolution 598.

2- On the basis of section one of this letter and the contents of the letter dated 30 July 1990, we are prepared to dispatch a delegation to Tehran or to receive a delegation from your

* If this phrase is translated literally it will read: "... and for the prevention of the permeating trenches ..."

side in Baghdad so that while preparing the relevant agreements, we can provide the groundwork for the signing of the agreements on the level that will be acceptable to both sides.

3- In order to demonstrate our good will, we shall begin our withdrawal from Friday, the 17th of August 1990, and except for retaining a symbolic force along with our border officers and police which remain only for the sake of daily duties under ordinary conditions, we shall recall our forces all along the border from regions where they confront your forces.

4- The immediate and comprehensive exchange of all prisoners of war, captive in whatever numbers in Iran and Iraq to be undertaken from (land) borders, the Khanegain-Ghasre-Shirin road, or other mutually agreed upon roads. We shall be the initiator of this action and shall begin the exchange starting from 17/8/1990.

Brother Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the President ... With this decision of ours everything has been clarified and thus, whatever you had desired and emphasized will be attained, and no other action other than the exchange of documents will remain, so that together from the position of responsibility we can be a witness to a new life filled with cooperation under the auspices of the principles of Islam, to respect one another's rights; and thus, in this way we can hold back from our shores those who try to fish in troubled waters, and even cooperate in certain areas, so that we can, as a result, convert the [Persian] Gulf into a waterway of peace

and security without the presence of foreign warships and forces who are lying in wait for us. Furthermore, this kind of cooperation may come to include other aspects of life. God is great and praise be to Him.

Saddam Hussein
President of Iraq
23 Moharram 1411 H.Q.
14 August 1990

**Reply of the President of the Islamic Republic of
Iran Dated 27 Moharram 1411 H.Q. [27 Mordad
1369 H.S., 18 August 1990] to Iraqi President's
Letter Dated 23 Moharram 1411 H.Q. [23 Mor-
dad 1369 H.S., 14 August 1990]**

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*"Praise be to God for His grace, and thanks be to Him for
His inspiration"*

The Honorable President of Iraq
His Excellency Mr. Saddam Hussein

Your Excellency's letter dated 23/5/69 (August 14, 1990) has been received. The announcement of the re-acceptance of the 1975 Treaty from your side has paved the way towards the implementation of the Resolution and the resolution of differences within the framework of Resolution 598, and can convert the existing ceasefire into a permanent and lasting peace.

We consider the commencement of the withdrawal of your forces from the occupied territories of Iran as reason of your sincerity and seriousness on the path of peace with the Islamic Republic of Iran; fortunately, at the specified time the release of prisoners [of war] has also begun; and we hope that the withdrawal of your military, according to the announced timetable and the release of the prisoners [of war] of both sides, will continue and be completed with more deliberation and speed.

Just as we informed you through our representative in Geneva, we are now ready to receive your representatives in Tehran and hope that with the continuation of the positive environment and existing good will, we can, by protecting all the legitimate rights and limits of the two peoples and the two Islamic countries, attain a comprehensive and lasting peace.

Va Ssalam Aleikom (Peace be upon you).

Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
President of the Islamic Republic of Iran
27/5/1369
[18 August 1990]

COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرضوى

سيادة طي خاملي

سيادة هاشي رافسجاني

السلام عليكم

سبق لي وان خاطبتكم في مناسبات سابقة ، اثناء
 الحرب ، بصورة غير مباشرة عبر وسائل اعلام
 العراق التي كانت الوسيلة الوحيدة المتاحة
 امامنا ليصال ما نريد قوله لكم . كما
 كنت استمع الى ما تقولونه عبر وسائل اعلامكم
 بالمقابل . . . وكانت آخر مبادرة توجهت
 بها اليكم بصفة لا يرب فيها الى تحقيق
 السلام الكامل والشامل هي تلك التي اعلناها
 في الخامس من كانون الثاني ١٩٩٠ ، غير اننا
 لم نعهد معا " بـ حتى الآن ، الى ما نرجوه
 من سلام بين بلدينا لغادر سيرة مأسسي
 الحرب واحتمالات اندلاعها من جديد .

وانه لامر مفهوم ان تحيط الظنون والهواجس
 والتفسيرات المتشككة بما هو خير وما يمكن

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهوريّة العراقيّة
 وزارة الشؤون الخارجيّة
 الرئيّة

(٢)

البناء عليه من آمال .. والآن .. ومن
 غير امادة لما سبق ان قلناه من وجهة
 نظر كي تقولوا انتم بالمقابل ما لديكم
 من وجهة نظر ولكي لا يندفع الحـ
 بعيدا " من ميدانه واغراضه البناء ويتجه
 نحو المجادلة وتبرز فيه موامل الاختلاف
 لتغلب على ما نرجوه من اتفاق على
 تحقيق السلام الفعلي والشامل والفوري
 لا بين العراق وايران حسب ، بل وبين
 الامة العربية وايران ، ان شاء الله ..
 اخاطبكم هذه المرة مباشرة لأقترح عليكم
 في هذا الشهر المبارك الذي يصوم فيه
 المسلمون وهم يتجهون الى الفوز برضى
 الرحمن سبحانه وتعالى ، عقد لقاء
 مباشر بيننا يمثلنا في

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
وزارة الخارجية
القاهرة
الرئيس

(٣)

مد الله ، صاحب هذه الرسالة ، والسيد
مزة ابراهيم وفريق من معاونينا ومثلكم لهم
السيدان علي خامنئي وهاشمي رافسجاني وفريق
من معاونيكم كما اقترح ان يعقد اللقاء
في مكة المكرمة قبله المسلمين في
الصلاة الى الله والبيت العتيق
الذي بناه سيدنا ابراهيم عليه
السلام اوفي اى مكان آخر يتم
الاتفاق عليه بيننا .. للعمل ، بعون الله ،
على تحقيق السلام الذى نتظره شعوبنا
والامة الاسلامية جمعاء ونؤمل بذلك
دما قد تصل مرة اخرى لى سبب
كان .. فمن بين الاحتمالات التى يحملها
الموقف ان تصمى القوى التى كان لها يد
في الفتنة التى وقعت بين ايران والعراق الى
تجديد الحرب مرة اخرى بما يعهد السلام
من بلدنا .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الدفاع
 الرئيس

(٤)

وانكم لابد تتابعون التهديدات التي يتعرض اليها
 العراق والامة العربية من جانب الصهيونية
 وبعض الدول العظمى والكبرى ، ولا شك بأنكم
 تعرفون بان الهدف الاساس من هذه
 التهديدات هو ابقاء يد الكيان الصهيوني
 طليقة لتعيث في الارض فسادا " ولتكون
 قادرة على البطش بمن يعترض سبيل الباطل
 يهزمه يصدده من رغباته واطمأنه
 الشريرة في المنطقة ويسعى لازالة احتلاله
 لارض فلسطين العربية والقدس الشريف العزيز
 على كل مسلم ، بل وعلى كل من يؤمن بالله
 وكتبه ورسله واليوم الآخر .

ان هذه القوى الشريرة التي نأمل ان تخيب
 آمالها وتطش سهامها بعون الله لابد وان تعمل
 على اعادة الصراع الدامي والسليح بين
 ايران من جانب والعراق والامة العربية

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرئيس

(٥)

من جانب آخر ولديها ما لديها من وسائل لتحقيق ذلك ، وعدد ذاك لن يخسر المسلمون جميعا " فرصة توجيه امكاناتهم وما لديهم من قدرات لتحرير مقدساتهم في فلسطين حسب ، بل سيخسرون الكثير الكثير مما عندهم .

اننا نرى ان بلوغ ما يعتبره العراق حقا " ، وبلوغ ما تراه ايران حقا " متاح لنا في اللقاء المباشر بيننا والذي يقطع الطريق على التريث من الساعين الى تعكير الرغبة في السلام ، اذا ما اتجهت النيات اتجاه صدق الى السلام وفسق ما يرضاه الله لنا وترضاه شعوبنا . ومن جانبنا فان هذه الية متوفرة لدينا بايمان عميق ومستقر وليس فيها غير الرغبة في الحصول على حقنا الثابت المتوازن مع حقكم الثابت .

وانني لا أترج عليكم ، وعلى قاعدة خير البر عاجله ،

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
نائب الرئيس
الرئيس

(٦)

ان يتم اللقاء في ثاني ايام عيد الفطر المبارك ،
اولي اى موعد آخر يتم الاتفاق عليه .

اما بشأن زيارتك لمكة وما يتصل بها من مستلزمات
المراسم من جانب الدولة المضيئة فالسلا ،
وعلى اساس ما يجمعنا واخواننا في المملكة
العربية السعودية من وشائج الاخوة والاحترام
المبادل ، سنتنسى على اخينا الملك فهد
بن عبد العزيز لان يوفر ما هو ضروري ومناسب
لمثل هذا الامر ، مع العلم باننا لم نبلغه
حتى الان بمضمون رسالتنا هذه .

وتسهيلاً " • • وتحضيراً " لمتطلبات اللقاء ، قد
تروى ، مثلما نرى ، ان يتواجد في
طهران من يمثلنا ويتواجد في
بغداد من يمثلكم وان تفتح

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرئيس

(٧)

خطوط الهاتف المباشر بين
 العاصمين لتأمين الاتصالات
 اللازمة •

اللهم اشهد اني قد بلغت ، والسلام
 عليكم •

بسم
 صدام حسين

بغداد في ٢٦ / رمضان / ١٤١٠ هـ
 الموافق ٢١ / نيسان / ١٩٩٠ م



دولة فلسطين
منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
اللجنة التنفيذية
الرئيس

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ساحة الفقيه السيد علي خامنئي
 ساحة الاخ الرئيس هاشمي رفسنجاني
 رئيس جمهورية ايران الاسلامية

تحية الجهاد والثورة :

فانني أغتنم فرصة وصول رسولنا اليكم الاخ أبو خا لد وهو يحمل رسالة خاتمة من السيد الرئيس صدام حسين والتي قمت بتسليمها له ، وهذه الرسالة الفاجئة والهامة هي مبادرة حسن نية من العراق الى ايران ، بل من القيادة العراقية الى اخوانهم في القيادة الايرانية التي أمتها الظروف - انظيرة التي نمر بها الامة الاسلامية بشكل عام والامة العربية بشكل خاص والتي تسبب فيها القرار الدولي المشترك بعد لقاء مالطا بالهجرة اليهودية السوفيتية ومن بلدان شرق أوروبا والتي ستصل خلال العشرة سنوات الى أكثر من ثلاثة ملايين يهودي مهاجر فيرتفع عدد هم الى أربعة ملايين مع الزيادة في المواليد ، وان هذه الملايين هي اسرائيل جديدة ستفجر حتما في جميع أنحاء الشرق الاوسط وستثبت لعقود جديدة استعمارهم لندسات المسلمين في فلسطين والقدس أولى القبلتين وثالث الحرمين الشريفين ، وتأني هذه الهجرة لخندق الانتفاضة المباركة للشعب الفلسطيني المجاهد .

وأمام المستجدات الاخرى المتمثلة بالتهديدات الاسرائيلية والامريكية وبعض الدول الأوروبية للدول العربية وللامة الاسلامية وللمنطقة كلها التي يحاولون بها السيطرة ضمن خلال اسرائيل التي تشكل رأس الجسر والعربة الاستعمارية لقوى الاستكبار العالمي في الشرق الاوسط ، أهم مراكز احتياطي النفط نسبي انما لم بجانب الموقع الاستراتيجي الذي تتمتع به .

ان العالمين العربي والاسلامي بل وشعوب دول العالم الثالث وشعب فلسطين بالخصوص ينتظر منكم المبادرة الايجابية والبساسة أسام هذه



دولة فلسطين
منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
اللجنة التنفيذية
الرئيس

- ٢ -

المبادرة التي يرسلها اليكم السيد الرئيس صدام حسين وهي تأتي بنشأة
 لهذه العوامل المجتمعة وعلى أرضية الساعي الخيرة التي ننطلق منها لانها
 هذا الوضع بين بالهدين الشقيقتين المسلمين لما فيه خير الشعبين الإيراني
 والعراقي وخير الامة الاسلامية وخير فلسطين وشعبها المجاهد
 الذي يتطلع من أسره في رحاب السجد الاقصى المبارك الى نجاح هذه
 المبادرة الخيرة حتى تتوحد كلمة وقوة وارادة المسلمين من أجل فلسطين
 أرض الاسراء والمعراج .

أناشدكم بكل المحبة ، وكل الاخوة وكل المقدسات أن تسارع بهذه
 الخطوة المباركة فأئدة المسلمين ترون اليكم وتهفو لنجاحها .
 وأنتي مع اخوانكم شعب فلسطين المجاهد وكل ما له من المحبة
 والتأييد والدعم في هذا العالم سنكون الاوفياء المخلصين لتحقيق وانجاح
 هذه المبادرة الخيرة لامتنا الاسلامية .

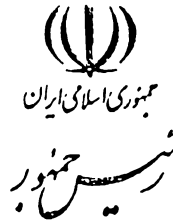
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

" ربنا افتح بيننا وبين قومنا بالحق وأنت خير الفاتحين "
 صدق الله العظيم

والله من وراء القصد
 ركنهم وائمتهم الشعب الإيراني العظيم
 رمنا لفضل سوريا في القدس المحررة ليرد ذلك
 باسم عرفات الحسيني
 رئيس دولة فلسطين
 رئيس اللجنة التنفيذية لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

٢٢ رمضان ١٤١٠

٢٢ مايو ١٩٩٠



" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "

الحمد لله رب العالمين والملوة والسلام على محمد عبده ورسوله وعلى اله الاطياب الاطهار

جناب آقای مدام حسین

نامه مورخ ۲۶ رمضان المبارک ۱۴۱۰ هـ شمارادیدم ، براستی اگر مطالبی که در این نامه آمده هشت سال پیش مورد توجه واقع می شد ارسال پیام جای اعزام سرباز رami گرفت ، امروز دو کشور ایران و عراق شاید همه ی امت اسلامی با این همه خسارات و ضایعات مواجه نباشود . همه می دانند که انقلاب اسلامی از آغاز همیشه نزدیکی کشورهای اسلامی و مجد و عظمت اسلام و مسلمین و مبارزه با دولت غاصب اسرائیل و آزادی فلسطین را وجهی همت ساخته است . اگر همه ی دولتهای منطقه عربی همانطور که بعضی از آنان عمل کردند ، قدر این انقلاب ضد صهیونیستی و ضد استکباری را شناخته ، با آن همکاری می کردند اکنون معادله ی قدرت در خاور میانه بسود اسلام و مسلمین می بود . اسرائیل و استکبار ایگو به فرصت بسط وجود و توسعه ی شرارت رانمی یافتند .

البته ما با امت عرب مشکلی نداریم و از همکاری صادقانه ی بعضی از دولتهای عربی بهره برده ایم . افسوس که فرصتی تاریخی در ده سال گذشته از گف رفته است . در همان آغاز انقلاب اسلامی جنگی ناخواسته و ویرانگر بر ماتحمیل شد و بخش بزرگی از سرزمین مادر مرزهای غربی کشور اشغال گردید و بخش عظیمی از سرمایه های انسانی و اقتصادی و نظامی دولت بزرگ ایران و عراق که باید در راه مبارزه با کفر و الحاد به کار گرفته می شد ، از میان رفت .

دشمنان اسلام و قدرتهای بزرگ بویژه امریکای جهان خوار را این جنگ بهره گرفتند و بهانه حمایت از برخی از کشورهای منطقه به مداخله در امور داخلی آنها پرداختند و با بر مداخلات خود



- ۲ -

توجه شمارا به این حقیقت جلب می‌کنم که ادامه اشغال بخشی از سرزمین اسلامی مایه‌تواند حرکت مارا در راه تحمیل صلح جامع‌گندویابی شمرکند و خودمی دانید که ما پس از تمیم به قطع جنگ، بلا درنگ تمامی نیروهای خودمان را از داخل خاک عراق به مرزها فراخواندیم . مطمئن باشید که این وضع برای مردم مسلمان ایران که خود را وقف اسلام و انقلاب کرده‌اند تردید جدی در حسن نیست طرف دیگر بوجود می‌آورد و ما مصممیم که در راه صلح همانند دوران دفاع ، اعتماد مردم را همسرا داشته باشیم .

نکته دیگر اینکه قبل از اقدام به تماس روسای جمهور دو کشور لازم است نماینده‌ای از سوی من و نماینده‌ای از سوی شما در کشوری که روابط دوستانه‌ی با طرفین داشته باشند بنشینند و درباره‌ی آنچه باید انجام گیرد گفتگو کنند تا زمینه و مقدمات تمیم نهایی را بدون فوت وقت فراهم سازند و از طرفی شیوه اقدام باید بگونه‌ای باشد که خللی به اعتبار قطعنامه ۵۹۸ که چهارچوب مناسبی برای حل و فصل اختلافات است وارد نشود .

ان ارید الاصلاح ما استطعت علیه توکلت والیه انیب ،

والسلام علی من اتبع الهدی

اکبر هاشمی رفسنجانی

۶ شوال ۱۴۱۰ هجری قمری

مطابق با ۶۹/۲/۱۲ هجری شمسی

(۶۹/۲/۱۳)

رئیس‌جمهوری اسلامی ایران

" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "

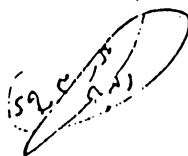
جناب آقای یاسر عرفات
رئیس سازمان آزادیبخش فلسطین

نامه جناب عالی که توسط فرستاده ویژه ارسال شده بود ، دریافت گردید .
آرزوی ما آنست که در این شرایط سخت و بحرانی همه کشورها و جنبش ها و نیروهای مسلمان ،
مبارز و ضد صهیونیست جهان اسلام ، حول محور واحدی که همان جهاد تا آزادی و رهایی است
گرد آیند .

رهبری و ملت انقلابی و مسلمان ایران بارها به صراحت مسئله فلسطین را مسئله خود دانسته
و آمادگی خویش را برای بذل امکانات جهت احقاق حقوق این ملت مسلمان شجاع و مقاوم و مبارز
اعلام داشته اند و جواب نامه مورد نظر شما بگونه ای که راه رسیدن به صلح پایدار و هماهنگی
کشورهای اسلامی را در مقابل تهاجم صهیونیسم هموار سازد ، داده شده و اگر طرف با حسن نیت
اقدام نماید به نتیجه می رسیم .

توفیق انجام وظیفه برای جناب عالی و سز بلندی و سعادت ملت پیرادر فلسطین را از خداوند
متعال مسألت دارم .

اکبر هاشمی رفسنجانی
رئیس جمهوری اسلامی ایران



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الثقافة
 الرئيس

السيد علي خامنئي

السيد علي أكبر هاشمي رفسنجاني

وبعد ..

تسلمت رسالتكم الخطيبة المؤرخة فـي
 ٦/ شوال /١٤١٠هـ الجوابية علـى
 رسالتنا المرسلة اليكم والمؤرخة فـي
 ٢٦/ رمضان /١٤١٠هـ المصادف ٢١/ نيسان / ١٩٩٠ م
 وقد قرأتها واعدت قراءتها اكثر من
 مرة ، أنا واخواني في القيـادة .
 ورغم أننا قد فهمنا من رسالتكم
 انكم توافقون على اقتراحنا لمقد لقاء
 بيننا وبينكم على مستوى القممـة

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الثقافة
 الرئيس

/ ٢ /

لاعطاء حل حاسم ونهائي للمشاكل
 المعلقة بين بلدينا، والتي كانت سبباً
 للنزاع أو نتيجة له ، وأنا قد
 سررنا بذلك ، الا أن روح الرسالة لم
 تكن كما كنا نأمل ، ذلك انها قد
 انطوت على عبارات مبطنة فسي
 بدايتها ، وحيثما وجدت فرصة لذلك ،
 وخشنة في خاتمتها .

أنا أيها السادة ، عندما فكرنا في الكتابة
 المباشرة اليكم فقد قلّبنا كل ما تكتنفه
 العلاقة بيننا من وضع خاص، ولكننا
 وجدنا أن أسلوب الكتابة مباشرة ،

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الثقافة
 الرئيس

/ ٣ /

وما يتأسس عليه من صلوة،
 هو الأسلوب الأكثر جدوى لتحقيق
 لقاء مباشر وحوار مباشر ، ليس
 هنالك ما هو أكثر فائدة منه
 واقدر على انجاز السلام المنشود
 بين العراق وايران ، بل بين
 الامة العربية وايران .

وأنا نعرف ونفترض بانكم تعرفون ايضا
 أن السلام بيننا لا يتحقق باقتناع طرف
 من غير أن يقتنن باقتناع الطرف
 الآخر ، ولا تفيده رعاية يقدمها طرف واحد

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الثقافة
 الرئيس

/ ٤ /

من غير أن تثير مبادرة الرعاية
 هذه ، رعاية مقابلة للأفكار والمعاني
 والأساليب أيضاً عند الطرف الآخر .
 وقد استذكرنا قبل أن نكتب رسالتنا
 الأولى ، بأننا قد استخدمنا
 واستخدمتم ، واسمع كل طرف الطرف الآخر ،
 أقوى العبارات ، وربما أخشعها طيلة
 السنوات العشر الماضية ، وبغض النظر
 عن تأثير ذلك الأسلوب ونوع ذلك
 التأثير الذي كان من صفحات النزاع والحرب
 بيننا ، فإنه لم يحقق السلام .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
نائب الرئيس
الرئيس

/ ٥ /

ومن ضمن ما ورد في رسالتكم من عبارات
ومصطلحات (الحرب المفروضة) ، و (بطل
الفهم) ، واختتام رسالتكم بجملة
(والسلام على من اتبع الهدى) ، بدلا
من (والسلام عليكم) ، مما هو معتاد
استخدامه في رسائل كهذه .

ولأننا نريد السلام ليس لأي سبب
إلا لمعانيه العظيمة في نفوسنا وفي
ما نؤمن ، فقد وزنا رسالتنا ، مفاهيم
وتعابير ، مع قياساتنا الانسانية
ونبل مقاصدنا فلم نستخدم إلا ما يرضي
الله والناس من عبارات ، ولا يعني ذلك
ابتداءً تغييراً في كل مفاهيمنا وآرائنا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الثقافة
 المكتبة الوطنية
 الرئيس

/ ٦ /

بل يعني اننا نرغب في أن نفتح
 باباً جديداً اقرب للنفس المقابلة،
 واكثر قدرة على التأثير فيها،
 لصالح منهج السلام الذي نعهده مقصداً
 شريفاً، ويخدم شعبنا والانسانية . ولان هذا
 الاسلوب هو الاسلوب اللائق والمناسب
 لمثل هذه المقاصد والسبل ، فالواجب
 يقتضي أن نجرب اسلوباً جديداً ، ففي
 التخاطب، هو غير اسلوب الحرب أو الزمن
 الذي سبقها ، ثم أن استخدام العبارات
 والتعابير التي استخدمت اثناء الحرب ،
 لا يوهم ايا من الطرفين بأنه يعني
 اقتداراً اضافياً على ما هو معروف

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الثقافة
 دمشق

/ ٧ /

عن اقتدار كل طرف من طرفي
 النزاع ، وهو لا يعين على اثبات امر
 على انه حق ، وان استخدام عبارات مناسبة
 لمخاطبة كهذه ، ان لم يقتصروا اقتدار
 المقتدر ويعينه بعد التوكل على
 الله ، فإنه في كل الاحوال لا يحذف من
 اقتداره شيئاً ، ولا ينقص منه شيئاً
 ثابتاً ، بل سيكون مدخل فوء الى
 قلوب حلفتها الحرب الكثير حتى
 اخنت جراحها ، وبما يجعلها ، عندما
 تتجه اتجاه صدق ، مهياة لعمل الخير
 الذي يحقق السلام .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
رئاسة الجمهورية
الرئيس

/ ٨ /

لذلك وجدنا أن الذي يناسب المكاتبة
بيننا ، هو عدم تثبيت ما نراه حقاً
لنا ، لكي لا تندفعوا الى تشبيـهات
ما ترونه حقاً لكم ، وبذلك قد لا تتوفر
فرصة للتهيوء النفسي ، كما ينبغي ،
ليستقبل كل منا الحوار المباشر .
وأننا في هذا لا نقصد سد باب الحوار
الذي يفتح في الصلة المباشرة على
ما يراه كل منا مفيداً ، ليتعرف كل طرف
على صلة الخطوة الاولى بآخر خطوة
على طريق السلام ، وليرى عملية السلام ككل
من خطواتها الاولى ، وصلة ما يراه حقاً
لنفسه ، مع ما يراه المقابل حقاً له .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الثقافة
 الرئيس

/ ٩ /

ويستحسن ونحى نسعى سوية الى ما
 يحقق السلام ، ان لا يشغل أي طرف منا
 بما هو ماضى ، على حساب ما هو مستقبل
 لان البقاء عند سياسة مضغ احداث الماضي ،
 يجعل من ينطبق عليه هذا الوصف
 متهمًا من قبل شعوبنا ، وهي الا قــــــدر
 على معرفة خواص كل واحد منا ، بانــــــه
 بطنء الفهم .. وأننا في هذا لا نريد
 ان نتهرب من الماضي ، لانكم تعرفون ،
 او تقدرن ، بأننا قادرون على أن نبــــــرز
 الى ميدان مناظرة (من بدأ الحــــــرب
 والعداوة .. وكيف بدأت ؟) وشائق كافية ،
 تدعم وجهة نظرنا بصورة تفصيلية ،
 وتعرفون ان الوشائق ستكون اكثر تأثيــــــرا

الجمهوريّة العربيّة
البيروتية
الرئيس

في اقناع المحيط الاوسع من شعوبنا
والانسانية ، مما ستكون عليه الاقـوال
والآراء المسبقة لاي طرف في قيادتي
البلدين وتعرفون أن التساؤل حول
هذا الموضوع والخوض فيه ، اذا ما عد
مدخلاً لبحثنا على اساس انه الاسبق
في تسلسله الزمني كما كنتم تقولون
قبل تموز عام ١٩٨٨ ، يتطلب زمناً
وجهداً . لاثبات الحجة يوازي زمن
الحرب ويتعداه الى الزمن الذي سبقها
أو يتناظر معه . وتعرفون أن كل واحد
من طرفي النزاع يحتفظ بتوقيــــــــــــــت
لبدايته ، ويستند الى حـــــــــــــجج
وقائع عملية وقانونية،

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
رئاسة الجمهورية
الرئيس

/ ١١ /

غير الحجج والوقائع التي يستند
اليها الطرف الآخر . ومن ذلك ، سيتضح
من هو الاحق في ان يصف الحرب بالحرب
المفروضة ، ومن هو الاحق في أن يشيّر
الى ارسال الرسائل بدلا من ارسال
الجنود .. الخ .

أما عن قرار مجلس الامن رقم ٥٩٨ فهو فـي
نظرنا منذ ان قبلناه بعد صدوره فـي
تموز عام ١٩٨٧ خطة سلام شامل ودائـم
بين البلدين وفق ما يتفقان عليه ،
مستعنيين بما ورد فيه من مبادئ واحكام ..
لذلك التزمنا بالقرار وما نزال نلتزم

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
 وزارة الدفاع
 الرئيس

/ ١٢ /

بتطبيقه على اساس هذا الفهم . وأننا
 نفترض ونحن نسعى الى السلام ، أن رغبتنا
 في البلدين فيه ، وفائدتنا منه ، تحظى
 بنفس المستوى والدرجة من الحماسة . لذلك
 فليس مطلوباً من أي من طرفي النزاع
 أن يقدم ثمناً مسبقاً لخطوة اللقضاء
 المباشر ، غير الرغبة الجادة في
 تحقيق السلام ، وبمفردات عملية ذات دلالة .
 وعندما يتحقق السلام فإنه من تحصيل
 الحاصل أن يكون جيش كل بلد داخل
 بلده ، وان لا يكون له امتداد على
 أية تلة ، أو شبر ارض ، أو في مياه
 أي من البلدين ، مما فرضته ظروف خاصة
 واعتبارات وقف اطلاق النار وحالمة
 اللا حار اللا سلم .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الدفاع
 الرئيس

/ ٢٣ /

ذكرتم في رسالتكم ، بأنكم انسحبتم
 من الاراضي العراقية ----- ،
 وتعنون بذلك انسحابكم
 من حلبجة في ظروف خاصة
 معروفة ، الى آخر الجملة ..
 وتعلقنا على ذلك .. اننا
 انسحبنا من اراضيكم التي
 دخلت اليها جيوشنا في ظروف
 معروفة في بداية النـزاع
 المسلح في عام ١٩٨٠ ، وتم ذلك
 في ٢٠ حزيران ١٩٨٢ ، بـعد
 ان كنا قد اعلننا قرار الانسحاب
 ذاك في وسائل الاعلام المرئية

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
رئيس الجمهورية
الرئيس

/ ١٤ /

والمسموعة في ١٠ حزيران عام ١٩٨٢،
والذي قلنا فيه أننا سنسحب
في مدة اقصاها عشرة أيام،
وقد طبق فعلاً، بينما انسحبت
قواتكم من حلبجة في ظروف
قتال خاصة، هي غير الظروف
التي انسحبت فيها جيوشنا.

لذلك فاذا كنتم تعدون انسحابكم من
حلبجة الذي حصل في ظروف
خاصة، دليلاً على اثبات حسن
النية الذي ينفي عنكم الطمع،

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرئيس

/ ١٥ /

أو الرغبة في الاحتفاظ بأراضي الغير
 فان الادعى أن يعد انسحابنا من
 أراضيكم عام ١٩٨٢ ، وانسحابنا من
 أراضيكم بعد معارك توكلنا على الله
 الرابعة في قاطعي الجنوب والوسط فـي
 تموز ١٩٨٨ دليلاً اضافياً ، مع الدلائل
 الاخرى ، على حسن نيتنا ، وعدم رغبتنا في
 احتفاظ العراق بأي شبر من ارض ايران .
 وفي كل الاحوال ، فان السلام يعني فيمـا
 يعنيه من جانبنا ، ان لا يفتصب أي طـرف
 حقاً ثابتاً لطرف آخر ، وان لا يفتصب
 أو يحتفظ احد اطراف النزاع بشبر
 ارض أو مياه الطرف الاخر . وهو منهـج

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية الجزائرية
 الديمقراطية الشعبية
 الرئيس

/ ١٦ /

طالما أكدنا عليه ، وتمسكنا به فـ في
 اكثر الظروف تعقيدا وعداوة ، ولذلك
 فمن البديهي أن نتمسك به في نفس
 الوقت الذي نحكم فيه على التمسك
 به في ظروف مباحثات السلام وكطريق
 لبلوغه ، أن شاء الله .

لقد علمنا من اجابتكم على الاستفسارات التي
 عرضها سفيرنا في جنيف على سفيركم
 هناك حول ما جاء في رسالتكم اليـنا
 بشأن لقاء تمهيدي بين مندوبيـن
 عن الطرفين انكم تحبذون هذا الاسلوب
 للتخفيف للقاء القمـة .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العربية السورية
رئاسة الجمهورية
الرئيس

/ ١٧ /

أننا نوافق على هذا الترتيب وقد
خولنا سفيرنا في جنيف السيد ———
ابراهيم التكريتي باجراء المحادثات
مع سفيركم هناك السيد سيروس ناصري .

وفي رأينا أن تكون مهمة مندوبيننا
تبادل وجهات النظر حول مواقف الطرفين
ليتعرف كل طرف على رأي الطرف الآخر
ازاء القضايا التي تهمنا وقد يتمكن
المندوبان من الاتفاق على بعض الجوانب
بما يوضح لنا الصورة عند اللقاء
على مستوى القمة ويسهل مهمتنا على
أن يبقيا ما قد لا يتفقان عليه ليحسم
في اللقاء على مستوى القمة .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
 الرئيس

/ ١٨ /

اما عن مكان انعقاد القمة فأننا ما نزال بانتظار تحديد مقترحكم بشأنه لاننا لـم نجد في جوابكم رأياً قاطعاً في المكان الذي اقترحناه وهو مكة المكرمة .. وقد يكون ذلك من الامور التي يبحثها المندوبان .

اما بشأن من يحضر القمة فأننا ما نزال نرى بان اللقاء على مستوى القمة ،ينبغي ان يضم مصادر القرار الاساسية في البلدين ، اذا ما قبلتم فعلياً فكرة اللقاء على مستوى القمة ،وتوكلتم على الله لتحقيقها معنا ،لان حضورنا معنا على مستوى القمة هو اختبار لجدية التوجه

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرئيس

/ ١٩ /

لختم الامور بحلول نهائية مقبولة
 للطرفين ، اذا ما تحققت ، بعون من
 الله ، سيكون بعدها السلام الدائم
 والشامل وان بقاء مصادر قرار اساسية
 خارج لقاء القمة قادرة على
 ان تقول (لا او نعم) سيؤثر على
 تطبيق ما يتم الاتفاق عليه وعلى مستوى
 الالتزام به ، اذ ان بقاءها خارج اللقاء
 لا يحقق غرضه ولا يطمئن اطرافه كما يجب ،
 وقد يعطل أو يعدل ما يتفق عليه من
 قرارات في القمة .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
الشيخ
الشيخ
الرئيس

/ ٢٠ /

ثم أن السلام يبدأ فعلياً ——— حيث تبدأ بدايته النفسية داخل ——— من ينسجون خيوطه ،حتى يتكون كحالة مستقرة في الصدر ،لذلك فإن ——— يشارك في صنعه منذ البداية ،سيجسد انه مسؤول مسؤولية اخلاقية ——— ونفسية عن تطبيقه والالتزام به ، ——— بالاضافة الى أن حضور كل شغل مركز القرار يقطع اية حجة قد تبرز بما يعقد ،او يؤخر مسار السلام ——— بالاتفاق عليه . لذلك نعيد التمسك بمقترحنا بأن يحضر لقاء القمة

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
 رئيس الجمهورية
 السيد عبد الرحمن
 الرئيس

/ ٢١ /

من جانبنا رئيس مجلس قيادة الثورة
 رئيس الجمهورية ونائب رئيس مجلس
 قيادة الثورة، ويحضر من جانب ايران
 السيدان علي خامنئي، وعلي اكبر
 هاشمي رفسنجاني .
 والله من وراء القصد ..

والسلام عليكم

مصاد حسين

بغداد في ٢٤ / شوال / ١٤١٠ هـ

الموافق ١٩ / أيار / ١٩٩٠

رئیس‌جمهوری اسلامی ایران

" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "

الحمد لله والسلام على رسول الله وآله ومحبيه الكرام

جناب آقای مدام حسین

نامه دوم مورخ ۲۹ اردیبهشت ماه ۱۳۶۹ هجری شمسی (۲۴ شوال ۱۴۱۰ هجری قمری) شمارا دریافت کردیم . چون احتمال جدی بودن دولت شما در راه ملح در حد قابل توجهی از نامه برمیآید جواب نامه دوم را هم می دهیم ولی انتظار داریم بعد از این وقت را با مبادله نامهها تلف نکنیم مگر در موارد ضروری ، و دولت و مردم منطقه تحت تأثیر حالت نه جنگ و نه ملح بیش از این رنج و خسارت نبینند و دعای کنیم که این آخرین نامه باشد و شاهد گامهای جدی عملی در راه ملح باشیم .

در نامه شما گله هایی از بخشی از عبارات و مفاهیم پاسخ ما مطرح شده بود . ما هم از اینک که در مکاتبات ملح مطالب رنجش آور مطرح شود راضی نیستیم ، ولی متأسفانه سنگ این بنسادر اولین نامه شما که به اظهار خودتان با قصد زدودن رسوبات نزاع خیز و هموار کردن راه دوستی تنظیم شده ، گذاشته شده بود ، از جمله

در نامه اول بگونه ای ادعا شده بود که گویا طرف ما " امت عرب " است چیزی که در طول جنگ برای جا انداختن آن تلاش های فراوان بی نتیجه ای بکار رفت .

خود شما و حزب شما آنروزها که از موضع جریان پیشرو و جبهه مقابله حرف می زدید گفته اید که افرادي مثل بعضی از ملوک و شیوخ و امرائی که در طول جنگ پشت سر شما بودند ، " امت عرب " نیستند و به اندازه کافی در افشای ماهیت آنها گفته و نوشته و اسناد گویا بجا گذاشته اید .

بعید است که از یادتان رفته باشد که بیشتر دولتهای پیشرو و همسنگرانتان در موضع جبهه مقابله ، در این نزاع با ما بودند و یا لا اقل بیطرف ، و وضع مردم و مخصوصاً " نیروهای مؤمن اسلامی را هم بخوبی می شناسید .

رئیس‌جمهوری اسلامی ایران

- ۴ -

مثبت آن دوطرف مطمئن باشند • چه ، درغیراینخورت ممکن است آثار منفی آن ازوضع موجود خسارت بارترباشد •

بخاطر مواضع منفی زمامداران سعودی نسبت به انقلاب اسلامی ایران درگذشته و حال ، قلمرو و دولت عربستان درحال حاضر محل مناسبی برای مذاکرات صلح نیست وباتوجه به وجود مکان های متعدد ، درراه انتخاب مکان مناسب برای دوطرف مشکلی نخواهیم داشت وبهتر است که نقطه مورد نظر درآستانه شروع مذاکرات مشخص شود ، وباپیشنهاد شما که نمایندگان مان در مذاکرات مقدماتی محل را مشخص کنند موافقیم •

طبیعی است درطول مذاکرات مقدماتی دبیرکل سازمان ملل متحد درجریان مذاکرات قـــرار خواهدگرفت ودرمواقع وموارد لازم از نظرات وابتکارهای ایشان درراه تحکیم صلح استفاده می شود و از انحصار راه صلح به مذاکره مستقیم (آنگونه که درنامه دوم اشاره رفته بود) پرهیز خواهد شد وراه های دیگر منجمله راه اصلی را که قسمتی از آن پییموده شده بروی خود نمی بندیم •

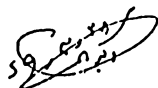
درخانمه ازپیشگاه خداوند متعال خوا- تارم که به ماتوفیق کامل درجهت رفع خصومت وکنــدن ریشه های نزاع وهموارکردن راه دولت وسایر مردم ودولت های منطقه برای صلح وهمکاری درجهت رفاه امت اسلامی وجهاد بادشمنان اسلام ومسلمانان ومخموما " آزادی کامل سرزمین اسلامی فلسطین عنایت فرماید •

وماتوفیقی لا اله الا بالله علیه توکلت والیه انیب

طهران - اکبر هاشمی رفسنجانی

۲۸ خرداد ماه ۱۳۶۹ هجری شمسی

مطابق با ۲۴ ذیقعدة الحرام هجری قمری



السيد علي اكبر هاشمي رفسنجاني المحتـرم
رئيس جمهورية ايران الاسلاميـة

السلام عليكم :

بعد تمنن دقيق في ماينبغي التمعن بهـ ،
وبعد استعراض دقيق لتطور العلاقات
والحال ، بين العراق وايران ، وما يحيط
بالمـنطقة وما يكتنفها من اخطـار ،
وبغية مواصلة دورنا في تنقيـم
المبادرات التي توفر فرما اوسع لانجاز

(٢)

السلام ، فقد وجدنا انفسنا ، وطبقا
 لمسؤوليتنا الوطنية ، والمسؤولية
 الانسانية التي ترتبها على كاهلنا
 مبادرنا العظيمة امام مسؤوليتنا
 تقديم مبادرة جديدة . ولان مبادرتنا
 هذه المرة تتناول بالمعالجة ، كل
 القضايا الجوهرية التي تضمنتها بنود
 قرار مجلس الامن رقم ٥٩٨ مرة واحدة ، وفي اطار
 واحد ، وبصورة تفصيلية ، فأنا نأمل
 ان يجري التعامل معها على هذا المستوى ،
 وان يكون التفاعل معها بمستوى من الجدية
 الذي لا يضيع على شعبينا فرصة حق العيش
 في ظروف سلام متفق عليه حتى التغايبات
 وفي ابعاد مخططات اعداء الشعوب الساعين

(٣)

الى دفع الظروف لا سمح الله ، الى مايعيد
 حالنا في البلدين، الى ماكنا عليه
 قبل آب / ١٩٨٨ ، وبذلك يخسر من يخسر
 من غير ربح بيّن .

ان قوى الظلام التي تبحث في زاوياها ، وبأيديها
 ادوات الغيلة ، قادرة تحت تأثير الشعوب
 بحقيقة ان الحرب لم تنته من الناحية
 القانونية بين البلدين بعد، على ان تدفع
 الى ما يطلق شرارة الحرب مجددا ، وكما تعرفون ،
 فان قيام الحرب قد يتولد من بدايات
 تبدو في بادئ امرها على انها بسيطة ،
 مثلما يتولد عن الشرارة ، حريق هائل .

(٤)

وان الاشرار المتربصين بنا قد يدفعهم عجزهم عن تحقيق اهدافهم دون اشغال البلدين ، او ايا منهما في الحرب ، وقد يقلقهم ما تجمع لدى طرفي النزاع من اسلحة ، وقد يتطلعون الى معرفة تأثير تلك الاسلحة او بعضها ، فيدفعون الى ما يطلق الشرارة بوسائلهم الخبيثة التي قد لا تجد صعوبات كبيرة في جبهة طولها في البر فقط بحدود الالف ومائتي كيلومتر ، وفي البحر بحدود ثمانمائة كيلومتر ، وان هذه الجبهات المليئة بامكانيات واحتمال حدوث شرار متطاير من فوهات الاسلحة ، قد لا تقتصر لذلك بدءاً ، ان يطلق جميع

(٥)

كبير نيران اسلحتهم .. اذ قد يقيــــــــــــــــوم
 بهذا احدهم ، لاي سب ، وتحت أي تأثــــــــــــــــير ،
 ليجعل الجمع الكبير يطلق ناره ، وبذلك
 تكون الخسارة اكبر للجميع ، ولا يستفــــــــــــــــيد
 عند ذلك الا السيئون ، وسيكون ذلك علــــــــــــــــى
 حساب شعوبنا ، كما اسلفنا .

ولان هذا ليس هدف اي من العراق وايتــــــــــــــــران ،
 كما ورد في تصريحات من يملــــــــــــــــكنا ، نــــــــــــــــسان
 الواجب يقتضي ، ليس الوصول الى السلام فقط :
 وانما الوصول اليه باسرع وقت ، لتبــــــــــــــــقى
 امكانية تحقق احلام الظلام والظالمين بعيــــــــــــــــدة
 عن ساحتنا .

(٦)

وعلى اساس كل هذا ابادر بمايلي :

- ٠١ اعاود طرح فكرة اجراء لقاء سريع بين رئيسي دولتي البلدين ، في مكان يتم الاتفاق عليه ، لبحثا الموضوعات التي يتحقق بالاتفاق عليها السلام الشامل والدائم .
- ٠٢ أن يتناول البحث والاتفاق كل الموضوعات المعلقة ، وان طرح أي موضوع جديد بعهد التوصل الى الاتفاق الشامل من جانب أي طرف دون موافقة الطرف الآخر امر مرفوض ويعتبر بمثابة تنصل من الاتفاق وان العناوين الفرعية لما يتفق عليه يجب ان تستخرج من بنود القرار ٥٩٨ ، وان يتم

(٧)

الاتفاق على اساس الفهم والتأكيد . على
 أن هدف القرار ٥٩٨ اساس ، هو تحقيق السلام
 الشامل والدائم وعن طريق الحوار ، وليس
 أي شيء آخر . وان تكون عناصر الاتفاق
 كلاً لا يتجزأ ، وبصيغة صيغة متكاملة
 ومترابطة ، وان يكون الاخلال بأي بنود
 من بنودها اخلاً بكل بنودها .

٠٣ لا يهم من أين يبدأ الحوار والاتفاق على
 الموضوعات ، الا أن الاتفاق على أي مفرد ،
 أو عدد من مفردات موضوعات البحث ، يبقـى
 معلقاً على الاتفاق على البنود الأخرى ، وطبقاً
 لكل ما ورد من مفهوم في الفقرة (٢) من
 رسالتنا هذه .

(٨)

وعليه فلاّي من طرفي الحوار الحق في الــــرد
على أي اعلان منفرد يصدر من قبل الطرف
الآخر ،بما يراه مناسباً ،بما في ذلك حق
نفي الاتفاق الجزئي على أي من موضوعات
الحوار المتفق عليها .

٠٤ ان يتــــم الانسحاب خلال مــــدة
لا تزيد على شهرين من تاريخ المصادقة
النهائية على الاتفاق الشامل الذي نتوصل
اليه ،وكلما كان الزمن اقصر ،كان ذلك
افضل . وان يجري الاتفاق على ترابط لا انفصام
فيه ،بين كل خطوة يخطوها طرفا النزاع ،
فيما يترتب عليه من التزام طبق الاتفاق
مع الخطوة المناسبة في الالتزام المقابل ،
او ما يوازنه من الطرف الآخر .

(٩)

٥٠ اننا مازلنا نعد موضوع الاسرى
محكوماً باتفاقيات جنيف، ولذلك
نفترض ان اطلاق سراحهم كان
يجب ان يتم على اساس بنود
هذه الاتفاقية ،وقد مضت سنتان
على الزمن اللازم لاطلاق سراحهم
طبقاً لهذه الاتفاقية ،
وهو الزمن الممتد بين
توقف اطلاق النار والوقت الحاضر،

(١٠)

ومع هذا ولكي نسيّل عملية السلام، فلا نمانع، ووفقاً
للاسس والمشاهيم المشار اليها اعلاه، من الاتفاق
على جدول اطلاق سراح الاسرى وفق الفقرة
المحددة في الفقرة (٤) (شهرين) اعتباراً من
تاريخ المصادقة النهائية على الاتفاق كأقصى مدة،
وكلما اتفق على ما هو اقل زمناً كان ذلك افضل .

٠٦ ان يجري الحوار فيما يتعلّق بشط الفــــرب
على اساس العناوين الثلاثة الاتية :-

آ. السيادة الكاملة عليه للعراق ، كما هو
حقه التاريخي المشروع .

ب. السيادة للعراق على شط العرب مع تطبيق
مفهوم خط التالوك في حقوق الملاحة

(١١)

بين العراق وايران بما في ذلك حـق
الملاحة والصيد والمشاركة في ادارة الملاحة
فيه وتقاسم الارباح منها .

ج . اـحالة موضوع شط العرب للتحكيم ،
وفق صيغة يتفق عليها الطرفان مـع
الالتزام المسبق بالقبول بما يسفـر
عنه التحكيم ، وحتى تبت جهة التحكيم
بالامر ، يباشـر بتنظيف شط العرب وفق
صيغة يتفق عليها الطرفان ، ليـكـون
صالحاً للملاحة والاستعمال .

ويكون الاتفاق على اساس افتراض ان الطرفين
معاً ، سيختاران أيضاً من العناوين الثلاثة
اعلاء ، باعتبار ان العنوان الاول يمثل

(١٢)

حق العراق ، ومفترضين ان العنوانين —————
الآخرين يمثلان رغبة ايران .

٠٧ الاتفاق على اسقاط الفترة السادسة —————
القرار ٥٩٨ من البحث ، واهمالها نهائياً
لانها لا تنطوي على فائدة للسلام ، بل
وتعمرقه ، وقد تدفع نتائجها الى البغضاء
والحقد ، والشار في المستقبل ، فيما يفتقر الى
السلام طريقاً اخر للشعبين الايرانيين
والعراقي . ومطلوب في هذا الشأن ابراز
الامين العام للأمم المتحدة رسمياً وخفياً
بالاتفاق الذي نتوصل اليه .

٠٨ ان لا يباشر بأي خطوة من الخطوات المشار اليها
والتي تتضمنها اتفاقية السلام التي نتوصل اليها
بين العراق وايران ، قبل استكمال

(١٣)

كل الاجراءات التشريعية للمصادقة عليها
 طبقاً للوضع الدستوري في البلدين بمما
 يجعلها نمائية من الناحية القانونية
 والدستورية ولا رجوع عنها بأي شكل ممن
 الاشكال كلاً أو جزءاً ويجعل بنوده
 نافذة، وعلى أن يتم ايداع وثائق المصادقة
 على الاتفاقية لدى الأمين العام للأمم
 المتحدة، وفي توقيت واحد يتفق عليه
 الطرفان .

٠٩ ان تكون اتفاقية السلام الجديدة بين
 العراق وايران، متضمنة لكل ما يتفق عليه،
 ولا مانع، وتسيلاً لتحقيق السرعة لانجاز

(١٥)

وعدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية
 واحترام كل بلد لما يختاره البلد
 الآخر من نظام سياسي واقتصادي
 واجتماعي وكذلك الاقرار الذي لا لبس
 فيه بحقوق الملاحة بكل اشكالها
 في المياه الدولية في الخليج ومضيق هرمز

١١. قد يكون مناسباً ان تضمن حسن تطبيق
 الاتفاقية جهة دولية يتفق عليها (مجلس الامن).

١٢. رغم اننا نعرف ان الوضع الدولي لا يسمح لنا
 ببناء آمال كبيرة على مساعي
 تقدم الينا لاعادة الاعمار

(١٧)

ذلك ، ما أوجت به ، أو ما تفضنته المحادثات
بين ممثلينا في جنيف ، السيدين نامري وبرزان .

وفي هذا يكون كل شيء قد أصبح واضحاً بما لا يدع
مجالاً لأي تفسير غير هذا ، وما ننشده
من السلام الحقيقي الشامل والسريع ،
والله أكبر .

مع التمنيات الطيبة لكم ، ومن خذلكم لقيادة إيران .

مدام حسين
رئيس الجمهورية العراقية

بغداد في ٨ / محرم / ١٤١١ هجرية

الموافق ٣٠ / تموز / ١٩٩٠ ميلادية

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهوريّة الإسلاميّة
وزارة الخارجية
الرئيس

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

السيد علي اكبر هاشمي رفسنجاني المحترم

رئيس جمهورية ايران الاسلامية

السلام عليكم ،

اطلعت صباح يوم الجمعة ١٩٩٠/٨/٣ على خلاصة

لنشاطكم السياسي وجانبها " مما صدر عن حكومة ايران

(بيان وزارة الخارجية الايرانية واجتماعكم مع القادة

العسكريين وما صدر عنه من خبر) .

وجدت من المصلحة وتأكيدا " لاحكام المسؤولية

الانسانية تجاه شعب ايران الى جانب المسؤولية الوطنية

تجاه شعبنا ان اكتب اليكم مرة اخرى .

في ١٦/٧/١٩٩٠ اقترحنا عليكم استقبال مبعوث عسا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهوريّة العربيّة
الجزائريّة
الرئيس

- ٢ -

- لامر يتعلق بدفع عملية السلام الى امام وسأسرع وقت
- وعندما تأجل جوابكم على تحديد موعد لاستقبال المبعوث
- بادرنا لايصال الرسالة الخطية التي كلفنا المبعوث
- بحملها اليكم ، لكي تهيئوا لقراءتها وتستحضروا ما يقتضي
- من تفكير ومذاكرة مع اخوانكم في القيادة حول ملامحها
- وما تضمنته من آراء ومقترحات ، وذلك نكون
- على بينة من موقفكم منها عندما تسمح ظروفكم باستقبال
- المبعوثين الذين لم تحددوا لهما حتى الان يوماً
- لاستقبالهما كبدل عن اليوم الذي اقترحناه عليكم (الاثنين

• من يوم ١٩٩٠/٧/٢٠)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مؤرخة العرفية
الشيخ
الرئيس

— ٢ —

وقبل رسالتنا هذه كنا قد ارسلنا لكم في ١٩٩٠/٨/٢ توضيحاً

بمبادرة منا عن طريق ممثلكم في جنيف السيد ناصري ، وقـــد

فما بكل هذا ليس فقط تعبيراً عن تأكيد الرغبة في السلام

وانما تأكيد الرغبة في انجاز السلام بأسرع وقت ، لنبقى

بلدينا وشعبها بعيداً عن دوامة تطورات الظروف فــــي

المنطقة والعالم وبعيداً عن احتمالاتها الخطرة .

السيد الرئيس .. لقد قمت بكل هذا ليقيني ان المحاربين

يستطيعون ان يفهموا بعضهم ونوايا كل واحد منهم بدرجة

اسرع حتى لو كانت صفة المحارب قد اُكْتُسِبَتْ من خلال

صراع مسلح فيما بينهم .

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
البرلمان
الوزير
الرئيس

- ٤ -

والان .. وبعد قضية الكويت ، ذرت قريبا في الافق
بوادر أزمة قد تدفع الى مجرى الصراع من لم يتـــروى
ويتأس بما فيه الكفاية .

ان من اصعب الامور وقد تكون من بين اخطرها ان يتجاوز
التفكير والسلوك في لحظة ظرفية الهدف او الاهداف
التي يمس اليها بمشروعية ، الى هدف أو اهداف
ليست لها مشروعية لا في تفسير شعبه ولا في تفكير المقابل
من الذين هم طرف في الامر .

وفيما نعرفه عن المعلن من اهدافكم ، انكم تريدون
السلام ، وقد قدمنا من جانبنا ما يوحد رغبتنا بحسن

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
البرلمان
الرئيس

— ٥ —

ايضا في السلام • وعرف ايضا بانكم تصعون السـ
تحقيق الانصاح • وهذا ما اكدته رسالتنا في ١٩٩٠/٧/٣٠
وقد تمت فيه سقائنا لانصاح لا يجوز ان يزيد عـهـ •
وتضمنت رسالتنا تلك في ١٩٩٠/٧/٣٠ معالجـات
محددة ومقترحات عملية وليس كلاما عاما عن كل بـسـد
تضمنه القرار ٥٩٨ • الذي اكد العراق واكدت اـسـران
الالتزام به • ونحن ما زلنا بانتظار موافقتكم على تحديد
يتم استقبالون فيه مبعوثينا الذين سبينا هـما لكـم
وهما (وزير الخارجية وممثلنا الدائم في جنيف) والسـذـى
بعد اجراء المحادثات معكم ومع من تصبونهم سـكـون

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
وزارة الدفاع
القوة الجوية
الرئيس

- ٦ -

امام مرحلة حاسمة للسلام كما نأمل بأذن الله
فإذا كان هذا هو الذي تريدونه وهو المعلن
والذي نعرفه ، وأن جوابنا عليه هو كل ما ذكرت ،
فإن الانزلاق في مجرى الافرازات الظرفية التي تخص
العلاقات العربية وتدور في خلفياتها وحيثيات حاضرها
يبعد معاكم عن الهدف ويشوش الصورة عنه ، وإذا ما
تشوشت الصورة عن الهدف يصعب عند ذلك علينا
وضع الترتيبات التي نأمل من خلالها وبالإسراع في إنجازها
أن يحقق السلام .

وقد يدفع باتجاه يبعد الأمور عن حساباتها الصحيحة

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
رئاسة الجمهورية
الرئيس

- ٧ -

من لم تكن له خبرة ، ولكنني في كل الاحـوال
لا أتوقع ولا أتصـ ان يتزحـزح النـجـريـون لحـرب
دامت ثمان سنوات من امـلاكـكم واخوانكم في قـيـادة
ايران ، الى أمر ليس من مصلحة ايران وليس من بينـ
اهدافها المشروعة .

انكم لاشك أو هذا ما أظنه على الأقل ، تعرفون
دوافع التصريحات التي تطلق من صباح يوم امس الخميس
١٦٩٠/٨/٢ سواء من داخل المنطقة أو من خارجها
وقد كان لكم تقييمكم لاطرافها ، وكان لنا تقييمنا
لاطرافها . . . وكلنا يعرف دوافعهم . . . ولكنكم

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

بمَجْمُورِيَةِ الْعِرَاقِيَّةِ
أَمَّا إِلَيْنَا جَمْعُهُمْ
الرَّئِيسُ

— ٨ —

تعرفون بأنهم جميعا قادرين على اصلاح مواقفهم
بوسائلهم الخاصة وبامكاناتهم المعروفة عندما يكتشفوا ان
تصرحاتهم سوف لن تقدم ولن تؤخر امام ارادة شعب
العراق العظيم الذي صمم على احقاق الحق ومعالجة
الغبخ والغدر والتآمر ... ان من يصدر السلاح اليها
ويصرح بوقف تصديره سيصلح الامر عندما يعيد
تصديره اليها ، وان من يوقف او يقطع العلاقات الاقتصادية
سيصلح الامر عندما يعيدها معنا .. اما العراق
وايران اذا ما انزاح موقف إى منهما عن موضعه الصحيح
فانه سيفوت فرصة تاريخية على شعبه في التمسك

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجمهورية العراقية
وزارة الخارجية
القاهرة
الرئيس

- ٩ -

بالسلام الى جانب تثبت حقوقه المشروعة • وان الخسارة
ستكون كبيرة اذا ما أهتز مسار ما اجزاه من شوط فسي
حوارنا على هذا الطريق الذي كون بداية ثقة بخطوات
بعضنا ، وهذا ما لانتصاه لكم مثلما لانتصاه لانفسنا •
وعلى أية حال ، فاذا كان الذي يعرفه وهو المعلن
من اهدافكم في المفاوضات هو كل اهدافكم ، فبمــــا
يوجد لكم ان المعلن منا هو كل اهدافنا بالتأكــــيد ،
فعلينا ان نسرع بعقد اللقاء وعلينا ان نسرعا بتحديد
يوم لاستقبال المبعوثين ، وعن هذا الطريق ، ومــــذا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مجمهورية العراق
رئيس الجمهورية
الرئيس

- ١٠ -

الطريق فقط تحقق الاهداف المشروعة ويحقق السلام

الذى هو غاية نبيلة لشعبي البلدين ، والله اكبر ...

والسلام عليكم ...

صدام حسين

رئيس جمهورية العراق

بغداد في ١٢ محرم ١٤١١ هـ

الموافق ٢ آب ١٩٩٠ م

رئیس جمهوری اسلامی ایران

" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على محمد وآله الاطهار

جناب آقای مدام حسین رئیس جمهور محترم

نامه مورخه ۶۹/۵/۱۲ شما دریافت شد با اینکه اصل نامه علی الظاهر بمنظور پیگیری مذاکرات صلح تنظیم شده ، لیکن بخشی از مضامین آن تاسف آواراست .

قبل از هر چیز لازم میدانم باردیگر براراده وخواست جمهوری اسلامی ایران نسبت به تحقق صلح عادلانه وپایدار تاکید نمایم . امیدوارم شما نیز به این نتیجه رسیده باشید ، پس از پذیرش قطعنامه ۵۹۸ با آگاهی کامل از مسئولیتهای خودمان درقبال صلح و تسکین ناشی از آن حرکت مادیانه ای را آغاز کردیم و بنا را بر این گذاشتیم که به جز آنچه که مربوط به حقوق مشروع و تفهیرناپذیر ملت ایران است هیچ چیز پیشروی مادر مسیر صلح را محدود نکند و چنین نیز کردیم . نحوه برخوردمان هم درطول مذاکراتی که تحت نظر دبیرکل سازمان ملل انجام گرفت و هم پاسخگویی به نامه شما و گفتگوهای که توسط نمایندگان من و شما در ژنو در جریان است می بایست این مسئله را برای شمارو شن کرده باشد .

تسریع در امر رسیدن به صلح و برداشتن گامهای عملی در اجرای قطعنامه ۵۹۸ بجای ناممکنگاریها و مذاکرات طولانی ، از تاکیدات مادر ابتدای مذاکرات نمایندگان دو کشور در ژنو بوده و اکنون نیز بر این باوریم که پیشرفت در محتوای مذاکرات و نه در شکل آن و تلاش در روشن ساختن وضعیت خود درقبال آن مسائلی که کلید دروازه صلح است ما را به هدف خود نزدیک خواهد ساخت . هدفی که زمینه های بالقوه برای تخریب وضعیت فعلی و باز مینه های تمنعی ساخته و پرداخته دشمنان اسلام که در شرایط خاصی فعلی جهان و منطقه میتواند بوجود آید را از بین خواهد برد . اینچنین است که صلح در دسترس دو کشور همسایه قرار خواهد گرفت و نیروهای مشغول شده به یکدیگر میتوانند در خدمت نیازهای حیاتی دولت و مسئولیت های اساسی آنها در جهت سازندگی ، صلح و امنیت منطقه قرار گیرند .

رئیس جبهه‌ری اسلامی ایران

- ۴ -

۶ - لحن نامه اخیرتان مناسب باحالت لازم در حریان مذاکره نیست . لحن وزبانی بکار گرفته که در گذشته عدم کارآیی آن در رابطه با ملت مسلمان و انقلابی ما آژمسوده شده . واز تحلیلی درباره "موضعگیریهای جدید دوستان و حامیان گذشته خودتان برای قانع کردن مذاستفاده شده که تناسب نیست ، زیرا می دانید که مادر عمل همه این مراحل را آزموده ایم واز سرگذرانده ایم وثابت کرده ایم که بیش از هر چیز روی ایمان و مقاومت و حمایت مردم حساب می کنیم وقهر ولطف دیگران رادارای آنچنان ارزشی نمی دانیم که برنامه زندگی وموضع گیریها وتصمیمات مهم را بر اساس آن قرار دهیم . مابندنبسال استفاده از شرایط فعلی نیستیم وجز حقوق مشروع وقانونی خود چیز دیگری رانمی خواهم . چیزی که در همه مراحل مذاکرات روی آن تاکید داشته ایم .

۷ - نکته مورد تاکید نامه شما در مورد سرعت حرکت در جهت صلح را کاملاً قبول داریم ولی آنچه که به صلح سرعت می بخشد پیشقدمی در ارائه پیشنهادهای شکلی ویا لا بردن سطح مذاکرات بدون آنکه درمختلوا پیشرفتی حاصل شده باشد نیست ، بلکه می بایست به قراردادهای بین دو کشور که از نظربین المللی برسمیت شناخته شده پایبند باشیم وبیش ازحق مشروع خود طلب نکنیم زیرا قابل تصور نیست آنچه که با جنگ هشت ساله حامل نشد در مذاکرات قابل تحقق باشد . اگر این مطلب را قبول داشته باشیم لازم نیست برای مشخص کردن مرزها در زمین ورودخانه بدنبال چیزی جز معاهده ۱۹۷۵ باشیم واکر قبول نداشته باشیم بهتر است کاراجرای قلعنانه را به سازمان ملل وشورای امنیت واگذاریم ضمن اینکه نقطه ارتباط ونسور ابرای تبادل نظرات در مسائل مشترک حفظ کنیم .

والسلام علیکم

اکبرهاشمی رفسنجانی
۱۶ محرم ۱۴۱۱ هجری قمری
مطابق با ۶۹/۵/۱۷ هجری شمسی

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الجزء الرابع
الخطبة
الزيتون

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

السيد الرئيس طي اكبر هاشمي رفسنجاني المحترم

رئيس جمهورية ايران الاسلامية

بعد التوكل على الله العلي القدير ، ومقصد ازاحة ما يعرقل فتح الطريق لملاقات اخوة مع كل المسلمين ، ومن يختار منهم الاخوة من مسلمي الجارة ايران ، ومن اجل فتح المجال لتطاول جدى مع كل المؤمنين لمواجهة الاشرار الذين يهدون بالمسلمين وامة العرب شرا " ومن اجل ابعاد العراق وايران من ابتزاز والاهيب القوى الدولية الشريفة واذلتهم في المنطقة ، وانسجاما " مع روح مبادئها التي اطلنا عليها في ١٦/٨/١٩٩٠ والتي توخينا منها تحقيق السلام الشامل والدائم في المنطقة ، ولكي لا تبقى لدى حجة ما يمنع من التطاول وابقائه الهواجس والتعصب ولكي لا تبقى اى من طاقات المشرق معطلة خارج ميدان المداولة العظيمة ، وحشدنا باتجاه الاهداف التي اجمع المسلمون والعرب الشرفاء على انها حق ، ولابعاد التداخل عن الخنادق ، وابعاد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الجمهورية العراقية
 وزارة الخارجية
 الرئيس

- ٢ -

الظلمين والهواجس ليجد الخيرون طريقهم الى عائلات
 طبيعية بين العراق وايران ، وكثيرة لحوارنا السدى
 امتد بصورته المباشرة منذ رسالتنا اليكم في ١٩٩٠ / ٤ / ٢١ ،
 وحتى آخر رسالة منكم اليها في ١٩٩٠ / ٨ / ٨ ، وكحاصل
 نهائي بواضح ، لا يبقى لدى حذر حذرا " قــــررنا
 ما يلي : -

(١) الموافقة على مقترحكم الذي جاء في رسالتكم الجوابية
 المؤرخة في ١٩٩٠ / ٨ / ٨ والتي استلمها مطابعا
 في جنيف السيد برزان ابراهيم التكريتي من مطلكم السيد
 مايروس ناصري ، باعتماد اتفاقية عام ١٩٢٥ مترابطة
 مع الاسس الواردة في رسالتنا في ١٩٩٠ / ٧ / ٣٠ وخاصة
 فيما يتعلق بتبادل الاسرى والفقرتين ٦ و ٧ من
 قرار مجلس الامن ٥٩٨ .

(٢) وعلى اساس ماورد في (١) من رسالتنا هذه ، ومما
 ورد في رسالتنا اليكم في ١٩٩٠ / ٧ / ٣٠ ، فلتســــا
 على استعداد للبحث اليكم بوفد الى طهران ، او بزيرونا
 وفد منكم في بغداد ، لاهداد الاتفاقيات والتهيئــــة



- ٢ -

- لتتبعها على المستوى الذي يتم الاطلاق عليه .
- (٢) وكبادرة حسن نية ، فان السحب سيبدأ اعتباراً من يوم الجمعة ١٧/٨/١٩٩٠ ، ومنصب قواتها التي تواجههم على طول الحدود بما بقي طرسي ماهو رمزي منها ، مع حرس الحدود والشرطة فحسب، لتنفيذ الواجبات اليومية لظروف طبيعتها .
- (٤) وان يتم تبادل فوري وشامل لكل اسرى الحرب بكل اعدادهم المحتجزين في كل من العراق وايران ، وان يتم ذلك ، عبر الحدود البرية وعن طريق خانتين - قصر شيرين ومنافذ اخرى يتفق عليها ، وستكون نحن المبادرين الى هذا وسنباشره اعتباراً من يوم الجمعة الموافق ١٧/٨/١٩٩٠ .

ايها الاخ الرئيس علي اكبر هاشمي رفسنجاني ...

في قرارنا هذا ، اصبح كل شيء واضحاً ، وكذلك تحقق كل ما اردتموه ، وما كنتم تركزون عليه ، ولم يبق الا ترتيب الوظائف لئلا نلحق بها من موقع اشرف بين على حياة جديدة يسودها التعاون في ظل

الجمهورية العراقية
 رئيس الجمهورية
 الرئيس

— ٤ —

مبادئ الاسلام ويحترم كل منا حقوق الاخرين .
 وبعد المتصدين في الماء العكر عن شواطئنا .
 وربما تعاوننا بما يبق في الخليج بحيرة مسلم
 وامان خالية من الاساطيل الاجنبية وقوى الاجنبية
 التي تترى بنا الدوائر . بالاضافة الى مبادئ
 الحياة الاخرى .

والله اكبر . . والله الحمد .

سدام حسين

رئيس جمهورية العراق

٢٣ / محرم / ١٤١١ هـ

١٤ / آب / ١٩٩٠ م

رئیس جمهوری اسلامی ایران

" بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم "

الحمد لله على ما انعم وله الشكر على ما الهيم

ریاست جمهوری محترم عراق جناب آقای مدام حسین

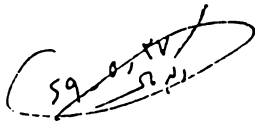
نامه مورخه ۶۹/۵/۲۳ " ۱۴ اوت ۱۹۹۰ " جنابعالی دریافت شد. اعلام پذیرش مجدد
معاهده ۱۹۷۵ از سوی شما راه اجرای قطعنامه و حل اختلافات در چارچوب قطعنامه ۵۹۸ و تبدیل
آتش بس موجود به صلح دائم و پایدار راهموار ساخت .

شروع عقب نشینی نیروهای شما از اراضی اشغالی ایران را دلیل صداقت و جدی بودن شما
در راه صلح با جمهوری اسلامی ایران بحساب می آوریم و خوشبختانه در موعد مقرر آزادی اسرا
هم آغاز گردید که امیدواریم عقب نشینی نظامیان شما طبق زمانبندی اعلام شده و آزادی اسرای
دو طرف با آهنگ و سرعت هر چه بیشتر ادامه یافته و تکمیل گردد .

همانگونه که از طریق نماینده مادرزئو به اطلاع رسانده ایم اکنون ما برای پذیرش
نمایندگان شما در تهران آمادگی داریم و امیدواریم با تداوم جو مثبت و حسن نیت موجود بتوانیم
به صلح جامع و پایدار با حفظ همه ی حقوق و حدود مشروع دولت و دو کشور اسلامی دست یابیم .

والسلام علیکم

اکبر هاشمی رفسنجانی
رئیس جمهوری اسلامی ایران





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